

THE
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Quarterly Review

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est

CHARLES H. WOODMAN

EDITOR

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FOR JULY, 1880.—No. LXXXI.

- I. *Zemlja i Volja.* AXEL GUSTAFSON.
- II. *The Philosophy of Final Causes.* J. McLAIN SMITH.
- III. *The Value and Regulation of Currency.* Hon. A. J. WARNER, M. C. (Ohio).
- IV. *Goethe and Bettina.* CLARA WHITE.
- V. *The Secret History of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.* JOHN A. PARKER.
- VI. *The Science of Public Health.* WILLIAM DOWE.
- VII. *The Political Future of the Jews.* DAVID KER.
- VIII. *The Intellectual Position of the Negro.* Prof. R. T. GREENER, (Howard University).
- IX. *William Black's Novels.* WILLIAM BAIRD.
- X. *Reviews and Criticisms.*

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Henry E. Hull.

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Samuel Jewett.

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M. M. Phillips.

DYSPEPSIA AND LIVER COMPLAINT.

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Dr. Clark Johnson:—This is to certify that your Indian Blood Syrup completely relieved me of Dyspepsia I advise all similarly afflicted to give it a trial.
Christopher Deyoe.

SURE CURE FOR LIVER COMPLAINT.

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Dr. Clark Johnson:—Having used your Indian Blood Syrup for years, I can say it is the best medicine for Liver Complaint and Disordered Stomach I ever tried.
A. B. Crain.

DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION.

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Dr. Clark Johnson:—This is to certify that your valuable Indian Blood Syrup cured me of Dyspepsia of 30 years' standing. I cannot recommend it too highly.
Willie Moore.

REMEDY FOR RHEUMATISM.

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Dr. Clark Johnson:—I was troubled with Rheumatism, and after using your Indian Blood Syrup a short time, I was entirely relieved.
I. Evans.

LIVER COMPLAINT.

Woonsocket, Providence Co., R. I.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—I suffered with Liver Complaint two years, and had no appetite. But since taking your Indian Blood Syrup, I rest well at night and relish my food.
Abraham Fitten.

LIVER COMPLAINT.

Little River, Decatur Co., Iowa.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—I have used your excellent Indian Blood Syrup for Liver Complaint, and it has entirely cured me. I cannot recommend it too highly.
Harrison Sherley.

DYSPEPSIA.

Thornton, Grafton Co., N. H.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—This is to certify that your Indian Blood Syrup has effectually cured me of dyspepsia and Constipation.
Mrs. Louis Holmes.

DYSPEPSIA AND RHEUMATISM.

Hester's Store, Person Co., N. C.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—The use of your reliable Indian Blood Syrup has greatly benefited me for Dyspepsia and Rheumatism.
Bottle Clayton.

MALARIAL FEVER AND KIDNEY DISEASE.

New York City, March 4, 1890.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—During my residence on Long Island, N. Y., I was troubled with Malarial Fever and Kidney Disease for over a year. My suffering became so great that I was obliged to give up work. I consulted several eminent physicians, but failed to obtain relief until I procured a bottle of your Indian Blood Syrup. Its effect on my system was magical. I have now been using it for about six weeks and find myself fully restored to health and vigor; my weight has also increased 15 pounds. I cheerfully recommend your valuable medicine to all similarly afflicted.
John F. Canning.

No. 38 McDougal Street.

DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION.

Loyalton, Dauphin Co., Pa.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—I have used your Indian Blood Syrup for Dyspepsia, and have received great benefit therefrom. It is all it is recommended to be.
Josiah Boyer.

REMEDY FOR RHEUMATISM.

Flatwood, Phelps Co., Mo.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—Being afflicted with rheumatic pains, I was induced to use your Indian Blood Syrup, a short trial of which, effectually relieved me.
Mrs. Wakefield.

DYSPEPSIA CURED.

Waterville, Le Sueur Co., Minn.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—My wife was troubled with Dyspepsia and other Irrregularities for some time; but the use of your truly excellent Indian Blood Syrup relieved her.
R. Robbins.

DYSPEPSIA AND INDIGESTION.

Mooreville, Lee Co., Miss.
Dr. Clark Johnson:—From my experience I would say that for Dyspepsia and Indigestion and all other Diseases, so far as I have tried it, your Indian Blood Syrup is a certain cure. I do not want to be without it.
B. E. Bourland.

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T H E

National Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1880.

ART. I.—ZEMLJA I VOLJA.

Ὁ πόποι ὦ δαίμον θνητῶ γένος, ὦ δολόλοβον,
Οἶον εἰς ἐρίδων ἐκ τε στοναγῶν ἐγένεσθε!

EMPEDOCLES.

"Industry has such an absolute necessity for liberty in order to prosper and extend, that we do not hesitate to say that its progress is more general and rapid in a disturbed state, if endued with solid liberty, than in a tranquil one if under a system of compression."—CAVOUR in *Risorgimento*.

"When, in these times a man is yielded up to the executioner, if you demand 'wherefore?' The answer is—'because this man has committed a crime.' If you enquire *why* this man committed a crime, the answer is—silence!... O how wisely did Lord Chesterfield say to his son, when sending him to visit the principal courts of Europe: 'Go, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed.'"—LOUIS BLANC.

On the 14th of April, 1879, St. Petersburg was startled by the report of an attempt on the life of the Czar. An order for the extermination of the Nihilists was immediately issued. The imperial ukase, published in the chief Russian official organ, the *Agence Russe*, is dated April 17th, 1879, and in its important points, translates as follows:

"These crimes, and the absence of repentance in the discovered perpetrators, have directed our attention to the necessity of resorting to extraordinary measures for the summary punishment of the guilty; and of entrusting the Government's faithful servants with the requisite authority for the maintenance of public order. To this end we have seen fit:

1st. To nominate provisional governor-generals at St. Petersburg, Charcow and Odessa, with special extraordinary powers as follows; and to provisionally grant the same rights to the governor-generals at Moscow, Kiew and Warsaw.

2d. Certain hereinafter-mentioned places in neighboring governments have been added to the several commands of the governor-generals of St. Petersburg, Charcow, Odessa, Moscow and Kiew.

3d. In all the places mentioned, the collective local civil

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administration as well as educational institutions of all kinds, shall be subordinated to the governor-generals to the same extent that—according to article 46 in the statutes concerning military administration during war,—the governments declared to be under a state of siege, are subordinated to military commanders.

4th. Governor-generals are authorized to put under court-martial any civilian within their jurisdiction, and to apply the criminal code of war time,—and this authority is valid independently of the cases mentioned in the ukase of August 9, last year—to any other kinds of political crimes against administrative order, as well as to those ordinarily provided for in the criminal code.

5th. This rule shall be applied in all cases where, up to date, the accused have not been tried.

6th. Governor-generals are authorized to :

A.—Officially banish from a place anybody considered mischievous ;

B.—Arrest at their own option anybody, without exception, if they deem it necessary ;

C.—Temporarily or altogether suppress newspapers and journals ;

D.—And in general to take such measures as are considered necessary for the maintenance of peace."

In this astounding ukase the Czar does not seem to have been inspired by the epigram of Metternich,—“You can do anything with bayonets except—sit on them!”

Results were soon apparent. The governor-generals, all of them military men, ambitious of the Czar's approval, vied with each other in repressive measures, and made the name of czarism odious not only to the hitherto loyal but to the much less easily roused, indifferent lookers-on. For example, General Gourko, Governor-General of St. Petersburg, expelled 20,000 persons without passports, doubled the number of porters before each residence, whom he made guardians not only of public security and order, but of the loyalty of their employers, thus establishing the most complete and intolerable espionage. General Gourko also made every person in St. Petersburg surrender arms, under heavy penalties ; forbade the sale of arms, ammunition, and poisons without a government permit, and commanded that all persons should be within doors by nine o'clock at night ;—which must have been a wellnigh unbearable deprivation, for in May and June occur the beautiful long twilights of the year.

The other governor-generals and governors instituted a similar spy-and-terror system in which everybody was at the mercy of any one's suspicion. "The Governor of Voronez," says the *Golos*, "stationed police sentries throughout the town within sight of each other, and placed a book on a stand in front of his house in which any one could register complaints against the police." The prisons were overflowing with persons who knew nothing of Nihilism, but who were alleged by somebody or other to have said, or evidently been about to say, something uncomplimentary to the Governor-General's good sense! It was inevitable that all the meaner qualities of human nature, private grudge, avarice, groundless malice and gross ambition, should come into tremendous play under such a *régime*. Nothing that any party or combination of parties could do against czarism, can be compared to the blow it has given itself through this ukase. Instead of one czar with a camarilla* ruling with some sense of obligation and risk, there were in effect six czars with their camarillas ruling irresponsibly, with no motive for action except the stamping out of the last vestige of free aspirations.

When, three days before this ukase was issued, Solowieff made his attempt on the Czar's life, the people of St. Petersburg streamed to the palace with thundering acclamation over the Czar's escape, and singing the national hymn *Bosche Zara Chrani*. And later, when the Czar rode out alone, the people threw themselves down along the route. But, *six months afterward*, the news of the ingenious and skilful attempt to blow up the train of the Czar *en route* to Moscow was received by the same people with comparative indifference; and the plot discovered in February for blowing up Kremlin and Czar together on his next visit to Moscow produced hardly more than a ripple of interest. Such was the effect of a multiplicity of czars, which seemed to prepare the people for a change, and to make them willing to receive it through any source or agency.

Now what is Nihilism?† Who are the Nihilists? Whence

* The Czar's private council or cabinet.

† Lucretian *Apathy*? Buddhist *Nirvana*? or Pascal's *Pessimism*?

their name? What are their character, object, organization, history? Many explanations have been given of the origin of the name *Nihilism*. It seems to have been first applied by the police to the Russian revolutionists, to stigmatize their movement as an utterly mad and destructive one, aiming at and resulting in—*nothing*. The Nihilists themselves appear to have accepted the term as being significant of their complete sacrifice of personal will, life and property to their political purpose and hope, asking for themselves, *nihil*, or nothing in return.

The *Krymski-Listok*, a South-Russian semi-weekly, small and insignificant in itself, gained a temporary importance through the publication in its columns (April, 1879) of a long article under the caption, *The Tendencies and Doctrines of Nihilism*. This article was copied by the *Novoe Vremja*, the *Moscow Gazette*, the *National Zeitung*, and other leading Russian and German journals, and pretended to be a fair digest made from the statements of nihilistic publications.

These statements, as represented in the *Krymski-Listok* article, are as follows:

"1. The ideal entertained by the former liberals, and even by republicans, is an antiquated myth.

"2. Garibaldi and Pyat, yes, even the desperate and godless Félix Pyat, are men behind the times.

"3. The Paris Commune of 1871, deserves, according to the views of Nihilists, more approbation than they (Garibaldi and Pyat), because their incendiarisms are a 'ray of light' for the future, though insufficient, because it has not taken one decisive step, and though making social revolution its aim, lacked courage in its execution. *Vepred*, ('Onward,' a socialist organ in Switzerland), says: 'Men must work to an end,' they must especially be dissatisfied with half-measures like the Commune's, which shot down its hostages 'only' by dozens. They must not hesitate to employ any severity, realizing the necessity of a pitiless war carried on by theft, arson, robbery and murder, through which all can be reached and struck down, and the entire existing social status be pulled to pieces.

"4. The Nihilists aim at the destruction of the bourgeoisie, and the burial of the old world in its ruins.

"5. The Nihilists desire the confiscation of all property through the abolishment of private property.

"6. The Nihilists desire the abolishment of the family, abro-

gation of religion, and the extinction of liberty itself as a conception without content.

"7. The Nihilists desire to realize this programme, first, in 'union with the Polish party of revolution'; thereafter, with arms in hand, to 'pronounce sentence over our executioners, merchants and landlords.' They must intimidate and frighten all who do not approve their views."*

"8. The Nihilists will 'destroy everything' opposing or impeding the execution of their programme; persons, things and conditions. 'Whosoever is not with the Nihilists is against them and shall fall by their revolver balls.'"

In Russia there are at present four known nihilist organs: the *Zemlja i Volja* (Land and Liberty); the *Narodnia Volja* (The Will of the People); the *Narodnia Rasprawa* (The Action of the People); the *Tschorny Poredel* (The Black-land Distribution). To give the reader opportunity for fair comparison between the presentation of the "tendencies and doctrines of Nihilism" in the above-quoted *Krymski-Listok's* statement, and the direct utterances of the Nihilists themselves, we give, translating literally, several citations from the most significant nihilistic papers and proclamations, beginning with the announcement of the death-sentence passed upon Prince Krapotkin, which was published in the *Zemlja i Volja*, the principal and oldest organ of the Nihilists†:—

"To the Russian People:

"Dimitri Nikolajewitsch Krapotkin, Governor at Charcow, who during twenty years' service has continually exercised a bloody oppression over the Russian people, and who has also carried on a cruel and bloody rule beyond the limits of Russia, in Poland and Bulgaria, has by us been sentenced to death. We here give our reasons for this judgment. Aside from previous crimes, Prince Krapotkin has ruled in Charcow during the last two years

* It would almost seem as if the author of the *Krymski-Listok* article, in his researches among nihilistic literature, had chanced upon—without recognizing its source—the incendiary revolutionary document of the late notorious Polish Red Party leader, Louis Mieroslawski, which, beginning by exhorting the party to spread false reports on the land question so as to excite the proprietors against the peasants and against the Czar, continues: "Information must be sent to all the German, French, English, and Italian journals, *invented, if necessary*, of the civil commotions in Russia, which shake the power of the czars,—insisting particularly on the distress in Russia, financial and administrative. . . . The governments of France and England *must be wearied* with complaints emanating from Warsaw, *fabricated* for the purpose and professedly remaining unnoticed at St. Petersburg."

† It first appeared after the Crimean war.

as a real satrap ; he has punished every expression for freedom with deportation for life to Siberia, with life-long labor in the mines and inhuman corporal punishments. Fomin, a political offender, received during the investigation one hundred and fifty blows by Prince Krapotkin's orders, and was at last sentenced by him to life-long penal labor, although wholly innocent of the alleged offences. Thirty-six Charcow students were deported by the Government to Siberia, agreeably to the faithful servant Krapotkin's wishes. The widow Aksenja Nikoforovna was tortured to death only on suspicion of having concealed a Nihilist in her house for three months. She was fifty years old, was arrested and imprisoned for eight months, during which period she was whipped sixteen times, which brought on a fatal illness, and she expired in prison on the eleventh of December, last year. The whole population was greatly excited over this barbarity. Two days later we sent the Governor our first warning. His reply was to order the arrest of all suspected persons in the department. This resulted in crowding the prisons and the incarceration of one hundred and eighty-seven innocent people, among them two little girls but fourteen years old. Then followed our second letter of warning ; the reply, only another hunt after Nihilists, and forty more people were cast in prison. His measure of crime was full. We, the avengers of the cruelly tortured people, sentenced the Czar's executioner to death. Our motto is—"Death to the murderers of the Russian people!" Mentzenzoff is followed by Krapotkin, and after Krapotkin comes every one who pitilessly oppresses us, robs us of our liberty and tortures us because we love liberty. No matter how high our tyrants and executioners may stand, our invisible hand can reach them day and night, at home or abroad, in the office or carriage ; everywhere shall they render us account, these blood-hounds of despotism.

(Signed) "THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE."

Prince Krapotkin was found dead at his palace, murdered, February 22, 1879. Fifty thousand roubles were offered for the discovery of the assassin ; but the mystery remains unsolved. A week later, there appeared posted at the corners of the streets in St. Petersburg, for three successive nights, the following warning to the Czar, bearing the ominous heading *Zemlja i Volja* :—

"To Mr. Alexander Nikolajewitsch :

"The letters of warning and threat, as well as the sentences which we, the invisible delegates of the murderously oppressed Russian people, have addressed to the various dignitaries of the present despotic government in Russia, belong as a rule to our preparative work. Neither yourself nor any member

of your family are in the least menaced, *as yet**, by our executive organization. First we must cleanse the lowest and filthiest corners in the Augean stables of despotism, to free the people from those administrative blood-hounds who without cause cast them in prison, for the purpose of ruthlessly abusing their victims there, subjecting them to cruel hunger and thirst, and, finally, because of 'rebellious intrigues,' hanging them or transporting them to the mines of the polar regions.

"We sit in judgment, and shall, without faltering, exercise our office and not shrink from any measures which may lead up to our *august* object. We shall with fire and sword exterminate the fiendish brood of bloody despotism. Its victims cry to their executioners '*Morituri te salutant!*' . . . and if you, Alexander Nikolajewitsch, will not heed our warning voice and bid halt to tyranny, then we declare to you that you shall at last be *unable to find* tyrants willing to be the directing instruments of your *régime*. And if you will not hearken to us, we entreat you to listen to the people's 'legitimate' representatives, the provincial representatives (Zemstvo), who only ask for a 'liberal legislation' (*swobodnij scheje ustrojstwo*).† Whither shall at last the existing system lead Russia? The civilized world mocks and despises us and denies us human rights; materially the entire Russia is ruined. Our immense resources are wellnigh drained. The system of education in Russia is literally brutalizing. The army of your Tchinovicks (officials) is nothing else than a cruel and insatiable band of thieves. The courts of justice dishonor equity. Your governors, chiefs of police and generals are veritable satraps, worthy imitators of Xerxes and Darius. Everywhere, at every turn, stupidity and barbarity are met hand in hand; voluptuous wastefulness united with insatiable greed and extortion. . . . Only militarism rejoices in your paternal care and favor. . . . Consider, Alexander Nikolajewitsch, whither all this leads. You are steering direct to perdition, and it is for this that we may conclude to spare your life.

(Signed) "THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE."

The greater part of the English press translations of this proclamation give so little of it, and so garble what they do give, as to make the Nihilists seem treacherously to disclaim

*It is estimated that over 1200 officials had been objects of nihilistic attempts—a large majority of which had succeeded—before the Czar's life began to be endangered.

† Last Spring the Province of Charcow was invited by the Government to assist in the suppression of Nihilism. The Zemstvo assented, only suggesting that their absolute subservience to the Governor-General made their powers to aid extremely limited. As a result, the Zemstvo were ignored and an embargo was laid on all the other provinces!

purposes which in reality they boldly and clearly intimate; nor is the earnest dignity of their plea faithfully rendered.

As examples of the absolutely arbitrary character of the Russian Government, we cite the following from different correspondents of English journals:

"The Russian Government habitually incarcerates political prisoners a long time before trying them and even before making charges against them. When the great trial of one hundred and ninety-three persons ended early last year, many of the accused had already been in prison four or five years. Not long ago a respectable professional man was arrested in St. Petersburg, confined in jail for six months, and sent to Siberia for two years, without knowing what crime he was charged with."

"At the theatre of Rovno, near Poltava, an attempt was made to perform a piece in the South-Russian dialect, an idiom spoken by 20,000,000 of people, but, in the interest of national uniformity and centralization, strictly excluded from the press, church, school and theatre by Government. The policemen, prohibiting the performance, were set upon by the audience. A fight ensued, which, the military being reënforced, resulted in the defeat of the rioters. A Moscow student deputation, asking the local governor to treat their arrested brethren with leniency, has been incarcerated. A stupendous number of arrests has been the consequence of these deplorable incidents."

"According to an English resident in St. Petersburg, writing to the London *Globe*, the operatives of a cotton-mill in the Russian capital lately struck for a reduction of the hours of labor, which were 13½ a day, and, assembling for the purpose of making an appeal to the Czarowitch, were attacked by the police and military and severely used. Afterward they were locked up and tried by a commission, which condemned all the men above the age of nineteen (seventy in number) to be exiled to the Province of Archangel, after receiving sixty lashes apiece; all under that age to be sent back to the village whence they came, and to be kept there the remainder of their lives; all the women employed in the mill and men who did not actively join in the demonstration to be discharged and fined three roubles a head all round."

"The *Golos* publishes intelligence from the Province of Wladimir that one archbishop and two bishops, Old Believers, have been incarcerated in the fortress of Suzdaltz, the archbishop during twenty-six years, the bishops twenty-two and seventeen years respectively. All said they were imprisoned for their religious convictions. The *Golos* inquires what clause of the code of punishments awards twenty-five years' imprisonment for the sole offence of holding harmless religious convictions. The article concludes that the prisoners have evidently been forgotten,

and that therefore it is the moral duty of every newspaper to give publicity to such cases. The Minister of the Interior has deprived the *Golos* of the right of inserting advertisements during a period of one month, for the publication of the article."

A year ago, the *Golos* also contained an account of the trial of Paul Popoff, a chief of police and councillor of State, who had been arrested for whipping sixty peasants of the Government of Rjazan, for non-payment of taxes. The details of his brutality as revealed before the court were terrible. Immediately before inflicting the punishment, Popoff ordered the rods to be first made soft by heating in the oven and then dipped in brine, and during the whipping he ordered the rods to be frequently wiped with linen cloths which had been dipped in brine and then sprinkled with powdered salt. As the whipping progressed, Popoff cried out to the sheriff: "Strike harder, more evenly, and lift the rods higher!" At the same time he trampled on the heads of the dying victims. To one peasant who complained of pains in his neck and breast, Popoff said: "Put down your head and you will soon be well." That peasant received one hundred and twenty blows by Popoff's own counting. When the peasant Alexander Dykin begged for water, Popoff forbade his having it and cried out: "Salt him a little instead!" One peasant, Konstantinoff, offered to pay the remaining taxes of one of the wretched victims. Popoff replied: "We shall first whip him; thereafter you may pay for him." For these unparalleled outrages, Popoff was sentenced to *three months' arrest*. General Trepoff, whose barbarities secured the acquittal of Vera Sassulitch, and his own dismissal from the office of Chief of Secret Police, has now, since the late Winter Palace explosion, been appointed military governor of the Winter Palace!

Yet, in view of such a condition of things as facts like these reveal, the *London Times* (February 20th, 1880) says:

"It is not by revolution that Russia can be regenerated. The central authority of the Czar must be upheld, if that order is to be maintained which is the indispensable condition of further progress. Conspiracies of this character," alluding to the Winter Palace plot, "must be punished with sufficient severity to crush them."

In April, 1879, the Minister of War, Milutine, issued some Draconic instructions regarding the courts-martial held over civilians accused of revolutionary designs. The Nihilists immediately responded by a posted proclamation to the army, which said :

"There is in Russia a power which could save the cause of liberty and hasten her victory. This power is the army. It has recently experienced the disastrous results of the present mode of government in Russia ; can it already have forgotten the past or be ignorant of the root of the evil ? The Russian army of today is more miserable than when, on its return from the Napoleonic war of 1813-15, it found Russia under a state of siege and its people poverty-stricken ; for now it looks upon starving peasants, an immense State deficit, fraud in finance, Jesuits in the schools, and spies in power, with whom—as we find in the recent ukase concerning courts-martial for political offences,—even members of the imperial family are accomplices ! The hero from Shipka and the martyr from the Balkans are employed as the degraded executioners of wretched peasants and suffering laborers. An officer who heroically defied death during those terrible attacks on Plevna, may now be under compulsion to shoot his own sister for participation in an indignation meeting ; or to parade over a grave holding the earthly remains of a murdered brother, a victim of the infamous secret police. What a fearful position ! Among the heroes from the war against Napoleon, were found men who could not endure such a position and who, therefore, formed secret societies aiming at a change in the Russian *régime*. If the Russian army has still the heart in the right spot, it will do likewise, so far as is possible to altered conditions. Now, there is better prospect of success than in 1815-25, because the officers and nobles no longer stand alone. The despotism *must* fall sooner or later, though the crisis may be prolonged for years and demand many more victims. It is, above all, the upright and honorable men within the army who can lessen the number of these victims and speed the downfall of despotism."

In another and recent address, the Executive Committee state that the object of the Nihilists is to effect a radical change in the social and political conditions of Russia, and to arouse in the nation a vivid consciousness of its rights. To this end the committee would have the Russians learn to understand the true nature and promoting causes of the people's forlorn position ; then they will find ways to wrest their liberty from their oppressors, and will see that neither to exterminate the Turk nor support the Slav, nor to give life and property to

the service of a clique which cares only for itself, is the first duty of the Russian patriot; but to labor for the freedom and true prosperity of the Russian upon Russian soil.

The appeal to the army was soon followed by another proclamation under the usual heading *Zemlja i Volja*, addressed "To the Russian People," which said among other things:

"Surely the liberty we crave and strive toward is not exorbitant; we only desire the right to free expression of our thoughts, the right to act independently and in accordance with our convictions; to have a voice in the State's affairs, and to know that our persons are protected against official whims. These surely are elementary rights of mankind, rights to which we are entitled because of our being human, and for whose vindication we call our brothers' aid."

And the *Zemlja i Volja* journal asks:

"What would we do with a constitution under present circumstances? So long as the country is denied all justice, a constitution would be of no use to it. Let us be given justice without distinction of persons, and we shall be satisfied. But if the State chariot goes on as before, an old programme must be maintained; it is—Death to the court camarilla and to all criminal officials."

In an article commenting on the attempted assassination of the Czar, the *Obščina* (or "Commune") of Geneva, says:

"We execrate personal government especially, because it has outraged by all its acts every feeling of justice and honor; because it systematically opposes freedom of thought, speech and education; because it supports for egotistical reasons social corruption and political immorality, since it finds in these both support and accomplices; because it makes law and justice the instruments of its personal interests; because it exhausts the material forces of the land, and lives at the expense of the welfare of coming generations; because by its home and foreign policy it has brought about a breach between our land and the rest of Europe; and because after being weakened and martyred, we are exposed to the derision and contempt of our enemies."

The programme of the Executive Committee, given in the number of the *Narodnia Volja*, and issued at the date when its press was captured by the police, after condemning the Russian Government as a system of oppression of the people which must be overthrown by force, revolution or conspiracy

before reforms can be secured, states that this done, the power shall immediately be vested in an assembly of organization, which shall be elected by all Russians without distinction of class or property; that this assembly will act in consonance with the will of its constituencies; that socialistic revolutionists will present to the assembly of organization their own programme which demands:

"1. Permanent popular representation with full power over all general State questions; 2. Wide local self-government, with election assured for all duties, the independence of the rural commune and the economical independence of the people; 3. The independence of the rural commune as an economical administrative whole; 4. The principle that the land is the property of the people; 5. A system of measures having in view the transfer of all works and factories to workingmen; 6. Complete liberty of conscience, speech, the press, public meetings, associations and electoral agitation; 7. General electoral rights, without any conditional or property limits whatever; 8. Replacement of the standing army by a territorial army."

In another number of the *Narodnia Volja* we find this pregnant paragraph:

"The problem of the socialistic revolutionary party is the subversion of the present form of government, and the subjection of the authority of the State to the people. . . . The transfer of the State power to the hands of the people would give our history quite another direction. A representative assembly would create a complete change in all our economic and State relations. Once let the government be deposed, and the nation would arrange itself far better, maybe, than we could hope."

The recent manifesto of the Russian students is at once a succinct statement of their grievances and a strong protest.* It affirms that any effort at genuine education in Russia is surrounded by difficulties which can scarcely be surmounted, and which are expressly devised to that end. High prices,

* Taking up the official educational statistics, we find that in 1873, in 123 gymnasia and 44 progymnasias, out of 41,712 students, only 1,229 finished their course, while 10,792 were expelled. In 1874 only 1,090 finished the course, of which only 773 were passed in the final examinations. The general result obtained from these statistics is that a year ago less than 12 per cent. received any school education at all. What must then be the condition now! The universities are intended to be shops for manufacture of government automata, and those who lack some requisite are dismissed and are usually—especially if poor and of liberal proclivities—placed in the army as privates, or—if taken from the medical academies—as suburgeons.

exclusion of practical subjects, compulsory attention to abstract studies of questions and notions having no bearing on real life or modern interests, absence of any system of bodily training,—these and a great number of other restrictions and hindrances are cited in proof of the Government's premeditated hostility to the real enlightenment of the masses.

"We have become convinced," says the manifesto, "by time and experience, that the Government is the enemy of the people and society, and from an enemy you can only take away by force and command, not by prayer and supplication; but we ask society to protest in every legal way for us; and we ask society to do this *in order that it may see the inutility of its petitions and protests!* . . . Look at what is being done among you! Continual hunger among the people side by side with senseless luxury in high places; insufficiency of peasant land, while free land is given away right and left to different officials; interference with the self-government of the Zemstvo; complete arbitrary license in the administration, unprecedented development of espionage, persecution of the press, and an enormous increase of taxes. . . . Let society do nothing, but go on as before, blindly and humbly, beneath the yoke; we young men *cannot* make peace with the existing order of things. We believe that a day of judgment will come, for all official criminals, before whom justice is now silent, and then the very stones will cry out, and the terrible tribunal of the people will unfold before the eyes of its oppressors the long list of their crimes!"

We have seen what the Nihilists profess, let us observe how their faith has been exemplified, in what manner they have died for it.

At Archangel, on the 26th of April, 1879, the young Nihilist Serge Bobokoff, accused of armed resistance to the police, was tried and condemned to death. "I belong," said he, when permitted to address the court, "to the social revolutionary party; I gave it all my powers; would never have left the peaceful propaganda, if the Government itself had not forced me to resort to arms. On October 30th, when I was officially informed of the new order, that every exile trying to escape from the place assigned him would be transported to Eastern Siberia, I was seized with the desire to try to escape, and, at the cost of my life, to protest against the despotic order. Now kill me if you choose, shoot or hang me; but be sure that neither my exile nor my execution can stop our great

movement." Bobokoff was but twenty years old, and, because of his youth, was commended to the clemency of the Grand-Duke Nicholas by the military court, which asked for the commutation of the death-sentence to that of imprisonment for life. The Grand-Duke replied to the judges: "I expect that you will not sentence him to an honorable death," and young Bobokoff was hanged in accordance with this imperial intimation, meeting his fate with unflinching firmness. On the 2d of May, 1879, the first execution in St. Petersburg,—since the hanging of Karakosoff, who tried to kill the Czar thirteen years before—took place in the hanging of Doubrovin. This young officer, whose personal beauty and winning character had endeared him to both soldier and civilian, was condemned to death for nihilistic propagandism. The commotion over his fate in St. Petersburg was so great that the Government feared to give any information to the public, and the hour and place of his execution were concealed till the sad event had transpired.

The Vienna *Abendpost* and other journals gave graphic descriptions of the last scene:

"Dressed in a black death-mantle with the word archtraitor (*gossudarstvennyi prestupnik*) on his breast, the prisoner walked between the gendarmes singing a kind of Russian *Marseillaise*, in which he praised as martyrs to liberty, the archtraitors Ryleieff, Odojewski and others, who were hung in 1826. His song was drowned by the beating of drums. When an attempt was made to read his sentence to him, he exclaimed: 'Away with that nonsense!' and, on the priest approaching and holding out the cross, Doubrovin referred him to the devil, and claimed that he was dying for the people as Christ had died, and he would brook no mummeries. As he ascended the scaffold with firm steps, he cried out in a strong voice—'Hail to thee, Liberty!' and died."

The Nihilists abducted Governor Wahl, Prince Krapotkin's successor at Chareow, and threatened to kill him if Doubrovin's life was not spared. They kept their word, and also waylaid and killed a young Count Koskool, a particular friend of the Czar, just then on his way to St. Petersburg. They left his body, with the money and jewelry upon it, untouched, in an open field.

The following is from the farewell letter of Valerien Osinsky,

written the night previous to his execution at Kiew, and published in the *Zemlja i Volja*:

"And now, my brethren, may all your noble endeavors be crowned with success! That is our last and only wish before stepping on the scaffold. That nearly all of you will have to sacrifice your lives to our cause, we know as well as you. But our cause, our idea cannot perish—and this faith gives us the courage and the strength to meet death without trembling. May you live happy and be victorious for the good of our noble, suffering people, or if death awaits you then may you die after having worked and accomplished more for our cause than we have been able to do! Farewell, farewell all, my dear friends; farewell our people! We gladly give you our lives; over our bodies lies your road to liberty and justice!

"And now one last word of advice before parting forever. The night is drawing to its close and at daybreak the hangman awaits us. This is our advice: Be prudent, my friends! do not lavish uselessly your precious blood and that of our best and noblest youth. Do not avoid danger; on the contrary, be ready at any moment to march proudly and fearlessly into the very jaws of death, and sell your lives dearly; be sure that by giving them away you render a real service to our cause or inflict a mortal wound on our foes. We do not doubt that one mode only of action lies open for you in future. That is terrorism. There is no other way for us to struggle. Against villains and thieves violence and revenge become a holy duty. But in order to put the system of terrorism efficiently into practice you must have means and men. I should like to say more, but time presses, I have but a few moments left. We die cheerfully and willingly, for our death will be a new source of shame for the decaying monarchy, a new triumph for our cause, an example and an appeal for revenge to all our comrades. Our only regret is not to have lived to see our hopes at least partially realized.

"Once more, farewell, friends and comrades! Live, live on happy if you can, die calmly if you must! For the last time I embrace you and bid you farewell—for the last time!

"Yours, "VALERIEN."

The New York *World*, commenting on this letter, says:

"In the light Osinsky's letter sheds on the character of the Nihilist actors, an otherwise nearly inexplicable occurrence which a few weeks ago produced a great sensation in the highest circles of St. Petersburg society becomes intelligible. General Gourko, the dictator of St. Petersburg, is said to have expressed the opinion at an evening party, that the only efficient way to quench the Nihilists was not only to hang their leaders but to knout every one of them publicly. He had barely pronounced these words when one of the ladies present, a Princess Gallitzin

(one of the noblest families of the Russian aristocracy), rose and facing the dictator said in a loud voice: 'Look, General, there sit my two daughters. If you really mean to bring more shame, disgrace and violence on our unhappy people, then I do hope and pray that each of these girls may become a Vera Sassulitch.'

Of like courage and devotion is the letter of the condemned Nihilist, Wittenberg:

"Of course I do not wish to die, and to say that I die readily would be a lie. But let not this throw a shade upon my faith and the strength of my convictions. Remember that the highest exemplar of philanthropy and self-sacrifice was undoubtedly our Saviour, yet He prayed, 'Let this cup pass from me!' Why should I not offer the same prayer? Nevertheless, like Him, I say to myself, if it cannot be otherwise—if it is necessary for the triumph of liberty that my blood should be shed—if a better state of things can only be reached over our bodies—let our blood flow, let it be sacrificed for the benefit of mankind, that our blood shall fertilize the soil which shall receive the seed of liberty. That liberty will triumph soon, such is my faith. Here I again remember the words of our Saviour, 'I tell you some of you are standing here who shall not taste of death until the kingdom of heaven shall appear.' Of this I am convinced, as I am convinced that the earth moves, and when I mount the scaffold and the rope is around my neck, my last thought will be, 'And yet it moves!' and nothing on earth can arrest it."

Among the executions of this present year, that of Dobriaskin may be cited. On his way to the scaffold he persisted in addressing the people, and one of the gendarmes struck him so severe a blow on the head with the flat of his sword as to stun him. His fellow-prisoners expostulated, and were bidden with threats to "Be silent, hounds!"

Dobriaskin calmly repulsed the priest with,—“Let me alone, brother; I don't want any of that humbug,” and, like his mates, met death with perfect courage.

When men die for ideas—however diverse the ideas may be, however far apart the times or widely different the people,—the manner of their dying is essentially alike in the august simplicity which is the characterizing feature of martyrdom; and it cannot be denied that the Nihilists meet death with the same personal indifference to their own fate, and the same unquenchable faith in the ultimate triumph of their cause, that sustained the early Christian martyrs, and that has inspired and upheld all human protest against religious, political

or social oppressions. It is from such protests, arbitrarily silenced, that secret societies have had birth, some of them bent on reducing the entire system of government to chaos, in the hope—old as the genealogical record of creation—that from such disintegration a cosmos may spontaneously spring.

Reactions move toward evil as toward good, and some secret societies, as the Thugs, Assassins, Chauffeurs, Garduna, Inquisition, K. G. C., etc., have been like cancers in the body of humanity, and their fiendish doctrines and deeds have made the coldest heart quail; but again we find that the noblest, finest and most illustrious minds of their age infused and guided the thought and action of such secret societies as the Illuminati, Die Tugendbund, Hetairia, Carbonari, Young Italy, the United Slavonians, the Omladina, etc. It may indeed be questioned if, but for these societies, the German Empire could have been founded, Greece become independent, Italy united and Bulgaria free.

It is not very long since the American public were assured, by the American Minister, Mr. Stoughton, at that time just returned from Russia, and who had "taken particular pains to inquire into the subject," that the so-called Russian Nihilists are "only a few miscreants banded together for murder and plunder." What more terrible indictment could be brought against the Russian Government than this bland implication that it had put the whole "satisfied and loyal" Russian people, "devotedly attached to the Czar," under all the severities of martial law!—that it is a government so effete and emasculated, that a handful of adventurers and silly girls are able to upset the whole order of things, and to quell whom it is necessary to take such extraordinary measures as are resorted to in other countries only when a general rebellion is in full blaze!

Others, who admit that the movement is of formidable dimensions, justify the severity of the Government's measures against it, on the ground that the Nihilists are the worst robbers, assassins and courtesans in the world. If this view is the correct one, of a movement so large—holding so much of the popular sympathy as the continual publication of

revolutionary newspapers and proclamations in the heart of Russia seems to indicate—surely, as the Government is a despotic one, with power to make its people what it will, the occasion for there being any Nihilists, and for their unmistakably stringent pressure for reforms, is flagrantly apparent.

The few undisputed facts regarding the movement and the character of the trials and executions of Nihilists, militate against such charges. The ferocious prosecution of the movement since 1870 to the present date, without its being crushed or even perceptibly checked, is proof that it is directed by undaunted intelligence, courage and perseverance. The cited quotations from nihilist organs prove equally that its leaders aim at a government and social fabric on the broadest basis,—that of reconstruction, not merely of destruction and annihilation.

That the sentences to death and exile for Nihilism, in the period of eight years, take the names of the known leaders of the movement, not from the category of rabble and adventurers, but from among the most brilliant and revered names in Russia, is indisputable guarantee that the movement is respected there; and yet, another disproof of the charge that Nihilism is only lawless murder and incendiarism, is, that although the military governors are, to all intents and purposes, vice-czars, who allow to their minions as unlimited power in their limited spheres as they themselves have from the Czar, yet they are obliged to arrest the inhabitants at random on the mere chance of discovering whether some of them may not turn out to be Nihilists!*. An uncertainty which would hardly pertain to the arrest of incendiaries and assassins!—and which goes to prove quite another point also, that the sympathy of the masses is so far enlisted, that they are evidently not on the alert to assist in detection, as they would be, were the Nihilists

* "A condition of society in which an executive, charged with the duty of forcibly repressing seditious movements, can catch none of the prime movers in sedition, and can only proceed by wholesale arrests among all classes of society, at the rate of hundreds per week, has no element of stability. Apart from all the slowly-working forces of disintegration in the Russian Empire, we now see in operation a new destructive force of fearfully rapid effects, which has been generated out of the very endeavor to counteract the gradual influences at work before."—*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 18, 1879.

a pestilential terror to the peace-loving, loyal subjects of the Czar. A very able article in the *New York World* of July 18th, 1879, had the following paragraph:

"At Kherson, a great bank robbery was committed some time ago, under circumstances strongly recalling the famous Ocean Bank robbery in this city. The Russian police, being unable to discover the robbers, put about the report that they were Nihilists. Thereupon the Southern Executive Committee, in a letter addressed to the secret police, indignantly denied this allegation, and pledged itself to discover the true criminals. The Nihilists kept their word. In less than two weeks they had accomplished what the Russian police could not achieve—the robbers were discovered and given up to justice. As regards the fires, reported from time to time in the great cities of Russia, it is improbable that the revolutionists should have anything to do with them. Not only has the Executive Committee recently disavowed the incendiaries, but it is altogether incredible that an organization, hitherto so skilfully managed, should suddenly adopt a method of action which cannot fail to excite a just and universal indignation. The real incendiaries are doubtless criminals who assume a political mask to inspire greater awe."

Sometimes the common felon will, after death-sentence, maintain heroic silence towards his uncaught confederates, even under the temptation of promised clemency to himself, but this will not be claimed as characteristic of his class. But no important confessions have been wrung from a single condemned Nihilist, though some of them have been mere boys. If the Nihilists are outlaws and conspirators against the true weal of the nation, it is not impertinent to ask why they are not granted open trials, that the people may see for themselves that the Government is only just in its fearful decrees.

Like other movements of any considerable proportions, making resolute and persistent stand against the existing order of things, Nihilism cannot be the outcome of transient discontent and suffering, but rather the inevitable evolution of long fermenting and profound dissatisfactions; and therefore a brief review of the peculiar development of the Russian nation is necessary to any understanding of the present Russian tragedy.

The Russians lived, up to the thirteenth century, under republican institutions in settled communities presided over by

princes and grand-dukes. They had early accepted the faith of the Eastern Church, were occupied with agriculture, trade and gardening, and enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity. But early in the thirteenth century came the terrible invasion of the Mohammedan Tartars, to whom Russia, divided within herself and lacking a common leader, fell a prey. The Tartar khans did not impose Tartar rulers over the Russians or interfere with their forms of government; but they confirmed the grand-dukes and set them to collecting the tributes; and, that these might be the heavier, encouraged them in subjugating by fair means and foul all the petty principalities, so that towards the close of the fifteenth century—the Tartar system of exacting tribute having worked better than they knew—Ivan the Terrible held nearly the whole vast empire under his control, and could command forces enough to deliver the decisive battle of Kulikovo, where the Cross shattered the Crescent, and the Russian people, freed from the Tartar yoke of more than two centuries, accepted almost gratefully the iron rule of Ivan, who was the first to assume the title of Czar. His descendants continued to be the Czars of Russia, until a wholesale murder extinguished Ivan's family; usurpers with Poland's aid ascended the throne, and the czars who had been elected by the Russian people were taken in chains to Poland, where they perished in prison. Thus, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Russia was on the verge of becoming a province of Catholic Poland, when Prince Pojarski raised the cry of independence, and again was Russia freed through despotic power and religious zeal.

In their gratitude the people offered the crown to their deliverer, but he declined it in favor of the Romanoffs as being the nearest of kin to the murdered czars. Thus through successive liberations by the czars, czarism became in name, idea and fact, sacred to the Russian people, the embodiment of supreme political and religious powers, the humblest serf and the most arrogant noble devoutly believing it an institution inseparable from the maintenance of national independence. In all these crises Russia had to do battle alone, for her position was that of a despised step-sister in the European family.

Down to the time of Peter the Great, she was not a large nation—the vast mass of Slavs being under foreign governments—and during the first half of his reign, the Russian population numbered but nine millions, while that of Poland was fourteen millions, and that of Turkey, twenty-seven millions.

Peter, a man of licentious instincts and ferocious impulses, was endowed with wellnigh superhuman energy and a proud hard patriotism, like that of the “dark Philomars” of *Zóphiël* :

“——strong in his country’s cause,
But harder than his battle-helm, in heart ;
Born while his father fought, and nurst in wars,
Pillage and fire his sports, to kill, his only art !”

Returning from an inspection of European civilization, Peter determined to civilize the Russians. Commerce being the chief civilizing medium, Peter forced his way to the Black and Baltic seas. He struck at the core of Russia’s patriarchal traditions by removing the capital from Holy Moscow to the swamps of St. Petersburg.

The Church, especially the cloisters, had grown wealthy. Peter needed money, and, without compunction, broke up the cloisters and confiscated their property. He founded scientific schools saw the Church ritual revised, and made several innovations regarding the priesthood. He conferred large endowments of land upon the nobles, and compelled the free orthodox peasants—who, during his father’s reign had rebelled under the leadership of Stenka-Razin and the inspiration of his celebrated watchword *Zemlja i Volja* !—to adopt European manners and costumes, making them serfs. He induced European artisans, officers and statesmen to enter his service by giving them preference to the Russians.

Peter accomplished an incredible amount ; but what he did was not planted, it was mechanically and violently superinduced, little regard being paid to the question of Russia’s readiness for, or even capability of adapting herself to, his reforms. His religious improvements caused a fatal schism in the Church itself. A scoffing, licentious materialism also began to displace the former superstitious devotion. The further extension of serfdom, and greater privileges granted

to the nobility embittered the peasant toward the noble and shook his faith in the Czar. Catharine increased this dangerous tension, by showering favors on the nobility and yet further subjecting the peasants, and provoked the rebellion led by the Cossack Pugatcheff under the old banner, *Zemlja i Volja*.

Hardly was the revolt suppressed when the rumblings of the French revolution made all Europe, and not least the proud Catharine, to tremble. Up to this moment she was not only favoring, but was a personal disciple of the French encyclopedists, and had encouraged the formation of social, literary, scientific and masonic clubs. The reports of the revolution in France changed Catharine as by magic. She ordered the closing of the clubs, the dispersion of their members and the arrest of their leaders, among whom was the great and learned Novicoff, whom she banished. Novicoff! the founder and first grand-master of Russian masons, and guardian and literary father of the famous Russian historian, Karamsin. In the midst of these oppressive measures, Catharine died and was succeeded by her son, Paul. During his brief and idiotic reign he reversed, as far as possible, all his mother's rigorous measures, reopened the lodges and supported the masons.

The reign of Alexander I began with several reforms. He abolished the secret inquisition created by his father, and made preparations for the abrogation of serfdom, but his purposes were swamped in the evil counsels of unscrupulous courtiers and agents.

The modern history of Russia opens with the year 1812. What Peter's superhuman efforts and Catharine's matchless intrigues and victorious wars had failed to secure for Russia, *i. e.*, her recognition by the western powers as an equal,—she now wrested from them in the downfall of Napoleon.

The flames which consumed Moscow were the fire of a sublime national devotion; by whose light the whole Russian nation, as if welded in a single thunderbolt, swept Napoleon and his armies from Russian soil, pressing him back through central Europe and crushing his power in Paris itself. The succeeding years of constant and untrammelled contact with the western nations could not fail to bring important results to

Russia, and the more because the Czar played but a secondary part in this momentous victory ; for, when Napoleon invaded Russia, Alexander would have compromised, but was withheld by public opinion. Again, when the French retreated to Poland, Alexander desired peace, but Kutuzoff Wolkonsky and others pressed him onward. Alexander was modest enough to admit this, and in a conversation with Madame de Staël described himself as "only a lucky accident." To the Russian guards the campaign amounted to an entry upon a new civilization, and the flower of the corps of officers became enthusiasts for constitutional liberty and citizenship. The peasant soldiers who had fought victoriously through so many battles, had become conscious of their own strength and value, were loth to return to their former abject servitude, and discontent spread like an infection all over Russia. Meanwhile, the advance of liberal movement in Germany, and the insidious counsels of Prince Metternich decided Alexander against reform, and he became the very spirit of the secret Holy Alliance. In 1822, an imperial ukase was issued, directing the closing of all masonic lodges and requiring the written bond of all civil and military officials "never to enter a free-mason lodge or society." Persecution fanned into fresh flames the smouldering fire of liberty which the campaign of 1812 had kindled in the society of the "United Slavonians." They demanded freedom of speech and a Slavic Union under constitutional government. The confused interregnum caused by the uncertainty as to whether Nicholas or Constantine should succeed Alexander, was seized upon by the constitutionalists as the occasion for obtaining their demands.

The leaders in this *coup d'état*, the time, the circumstances, all portended victory ; but at the decisive moment the chosen leader, Prince Troubetskoi, was unavoidably detained, and the movement collapsed on the very verge of success. Nicholas dealt mercilessly with the Decabrists. He had promised the interceding European ambassadors that he should "astonish Europe with his clemency," and he did truly astonish Europe. Capital punishment had been abolished in Russia ; therefore Nicholas imported a hangman from Sweden, and of the one

hundred and twenty-one prominent Decabrists, not one was pardoned! Some were hanged and under the most revolting circumstances. Others were deported to Siberia and Caucasus. Similar scenes on a smaller scale were enacted all over Russia wherever a liberal voice was raised. Nicholas restored the secret police with all its terrors, doubled the entire country police and made a redistribution of the *mirs*, a measure entailing much confusion and suffering,—so that in many districts, notably in Kazan, the peasants resisted. Again we find *Zemlja i Volja* inscribed on the banners of the people. Yet Nicholas had not always been so bent upon plucking out the last vestige and the very memory of independent thought. In the first years of his reign, after the restoration of peace, he made heroic efforts toward reforms. He sought to surround himself with honest advisers; allowed and even encouraged literary and dramatic criticism of abuses. Having received through his mother a strict regard for morality and religion, he was a good husband and father, sacredly kept his word, disdained diplomatic tricks and combated corruption and venality with all his might. Peter the Great would have flung Russia bodily into the lap of European civilization,* importing Europeans to her offices of internal administration, as to the supervision of her industries. Nicholas, while striving equally with his famous ancestor for Russia's greatness, believed it attainable only by exactly opposite methods; and as the founder of Panslavism (which, however ingeniously converted into a European scarecrow, has for its fundamental meaning, and meant to Nicholas, simply, Russia for the Russians and by the Russians), vigorously opposed the influx of foreign officials and sought to free Russia completely from her foreign incubus. But it did not take Nicholas long to discover that the camarilla and its minions allow the autocrat full powers in all directions save one—that of reform! He took one revenge on the bureaucracy. If they nullified his benevolent efforts, he could and did rule without them in general affairs; and the energy checked in the direction of reforms reacted in the bitter and

* "St. Petersburg," said the Russian poet Kukolnick, "is a window cut out into Europe by the axe of Peter the Great."

relentless severities which, during the last years of his reign, subjected the whole of Russia, as well as conquered Poland, literally to a permanent state of siege; blood, tears and brandy flowing in about equal proportions.

Only from such works as *Anton Goremyka* and Turgenieff's master-work, *Zapiski* (A Hunter's Memoirs), can an adequate idea of this tragic epoch in Russia's history be formed. That the period of Nicholas' rule was particularly fertile in that harvest of fine spirits sure to ripen under a system of persecution, is seen in only a glance at the list of those who died on the scaffold or went into forced or voluntary exile during his *régime*. Among them were Pestel, Rylief, Pushkine, Polevoi, Sencowski, Gogol, (Die Todten Seelen) Lermontoff, Griboïëdoff, Kolzoff, Belinski, Baratinski, Herzen, Gurowski, etc., etc. The lives, works and deaths of these great men are undeniably the inspiration of the Nihilism of today.

In the midst of the field operations in the Crimea, Nicholas died, defeated and heart-broken. His son and successor, Alexander II, had received a liberal education. He had a sympathetic heart which had led him on more than one occasion to intercede on his knees for some victim of his father's withering rule. He opened his own reign by revoking his father's cruel and arbitrary decrees against the press, the universities and foreign travel, which had transformed Russia into a huge inquisitorial prison; by such liberal and intelligent measures endeavoring to quiet the ominous murmurings that came from all parts of Russia on the news of the peace negotiations at Vienna and Paris. Such infamous minions as Bibikoff, Kleinmichel, Dubbelt and others were dismissed, the zeal of the secret police discouraged, and the surviving Decabrists pardoned. The Czar even read copies of Herzen's *Kolokol*, or "The Bell," and the *Veliki Russ* (the "Great Russian"), which he sometimes found among the periodicals on his table. Considering Alexander's genial temperament and his generous, humane proclivities, it is not wonderful that, on coming into power, these long repressed impulses should lift the very floodgates of civilization; but the wisdom of plunging Russia as by a single jump from his father's freezing despotism into

a warm and fragrant Summer of freedom is very questionable.

In 1861 the journal *Zemlja i Volja* had begun to have a very large circulation, and in March of the same year the emancipation act freeing twenty-two millions of serfs was announced.* This act seemed to fulfil two objects. It was a response to the universal and growing cry for freedom, so long promised and yet never bestowed; it was a gain to Russia's drained exchequer of the sums which could now be ground and knouted from this sudden accession of freemen to her tax-list; and it was also a new and large resource from which to replenish her military forces. This act, moreover, embodied certain noble and public-spirited aims of Alexander, but the fierce opposition of the Black Clergy and the high nobles, together with the modifications effected by the camarilla, rendered it, when, two years later, it was put in execution (the arrangements were declared completed July, 1865), a compromise which discouraged the Czar, angered the nobles, and disappointed the peasants.

It was expected that in Russia's millennial year (1862) the people would receive substantial constitutional liberties. The Grand-Duchy of Finland did receive back its old Swedish constitution, but, as no other important concession or reform was granted to any other parts of the empire, it was the signal for outbreaks in different quarters, and in May extensive conflagrations occurred in St. Petersburg. The peasants, who had grumbled over the exorbitant price they were compelled to pay for a merely nominal freedom, became rebellious when the taxes were doubled and military contingents increased.

When, on account of the Polish revolution, the National party came into power, the heart of all liberal Russia felt the chill foreboding of reaction,—a fear soon realized. The press was gagged, the secret police encouraged, the universities placed under espionage, and, in 1866, Europe was startled with the sound of Karakasoff's pistol. Count Shouvaloff

* Besides the 22,000,000 belonging to private owners, there were, according to a census taken at the time, 22,225,075 crown peasants, *i. e.* 10,583,38 men, and 11,641,437 women. The emancipation of this class began previous to that of the private serfs, and was all but accomplished on September 1st, 1863.—Vide *Statesman's Year-book* for 1879.

became Chief of the Secret Police. Numerous arrests and deportations followed; public gatherings were forbidden. A two years' lull ensued, and then the present formidable movement against the reactionary government began to make itself felt. In 1870, Count Shouvaloff opened a systematic prosecution of the Nihilists, and though this prosecution has increased in bitterness and severity ever since, and has been sustained by the whole bureaucratic sentiment of Russia, yet Nihilism has steadily spread and is now the most difficult problem confronting czarism. In this same year somebody liberated a little flea in Shouvaloff's ear concerning the necessity for watching some young men at Moscow, with short hair and short rough coats. A number of these were arrested, including some of Moscow's most brilliant and educated young men. The investigation proved little, if anything, against them, certainly not treason, yet all of them were sent to Siberia; and indeed it was not Count Shouvaloff's fault that the Petroffski University was not then summarily closed. Again a lull ensued, until, in 1874, some nihilistic literature fell into the hands of the secret police.

Investigation soon proved that a wide-spread conspiracy existed. The Moscow chief of police received plenary powers of investigation, and hundreds of persons were thrown into prison. At first it was suspected that the labor-unions were at the bottom of it, as so many artisans and laborers were implicated; but it soon became clear that it comprised "many persons of superior education, a large proportion of whom were officials of the judicial and police departments. Among the accused were Professor Dakhoffsky of the Yaroslaw College of Law, and M. Khovanko, President of the Session of Magistrates at Chernigoff." In 1875, Count Tolstoy, the hated Minister of Public Instruction, issued a circular announcing that thirty-seven provinces were infested with Nihilism, and cautioning teachers and scholars against its subversive doctrines. In 1877, the Russo-Turkish war naturally interrupted the progress of the movement. The preparations for this war had been wholly inadequate in provisions, armament, numbers, surgeons, competent generals, etc.

The Grand-Dukes Nicholas and Michael, though entirely unfit, were placed at the head of the Russian army, while able generals were ignored to please the whims or personal feelings of some members of the Imperial House. Officers devoid of other distinction or merit than that of enjoying the imperial favor, were also forthwith placed in important commands. Such mismanagement led naturally to the disasters around Plevna and Kars; these, as naturally, disappointed and incensed the Russian people, whose pride and faith in the Czar were further humiliated and strained by the attitude of Alexander, who played the part of tame spectator instead of commander-in-chief, and who, in spite of his imperial word to the deputies at Moscow that "the holy work should be carried on to the end," was ready to conclude peace on the capture of Adrianople,—and, when pressed along by the popular enthusiasm, yet dallied with half measures, weakly allowed English arrogance to intimidate him, German intimations to confuse and dazzle him, and Austrian cupidity—grasping at Russia's inheritance of "fair Bosnia"—to take from his limp hands the fruits of Russia's enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; quashing the San Stefano treaty, concluded on the anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne and the liberation of the serfs,—in that imposed on him by the powers at Berlin. The just resentment of the Russian people infused the nihilistic movement with a new current of tremendous strength. Its demand for reforms, economy and representative institutions were silenced as usual by imprisonment and exile, and when the discontent and desperation increased, so did the executions, banishments, tortures, espionage, restrictions on press, speech and association,—the Czar, as usual, playing a secondary role;—and at last, after eight months' trial of the governor-generalships,—upon which Nihilism has made the significant comment of its Winter Palace dynamite plot*—even these severities

* Lord Beaconsfield sent his congratulations to the Czar on his escape from the explosion at the Winter Palace; yet the right and the glory of tyrannicide has been argued, philosophized upon, dramatized and sung in almost all times and by the most illustrious minds. Indeed, many years ago we find—picking out a slender volume from among musty tomes—that one Benjamin Disraeli, a young novelist and versifier, sang in honor of this theme:

"Blessed be the hand that dares to wield
The regicidal steel that shall redeem
A Nation's suffering with a tyrant's blood!"

are abandoned as inadequate, and on the 25th of February, General Loris Melikoff, Governor-General at Charcow, was appointed to the command of a military dietatorial commission, having supreme powers over all Russia's internal affairs.

The able St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* made, in 1879, the following comments on the Russian Government:

"At the same time that the people are forbidden political activity, the Government remains motionless. Nothing is heard of reforms in taxation and finance, or of the development of new institutions, or of the reorganization of the corrupt administration or of any limit to the mismanagement. * * * It may be said that at present Russia's authority, the importance of her word in the councils of nations, yes, even her salvation, depends above all upon her financial policy. Its direction has been confided to a new minister, who is a general. Such an appointment is not surprising in a country where it is held as a dogma that special qualifications have no importance, the ruler's choice being equivalent to an endowment with all the necessary natural and divine gifts! Has it not for many years been a spectacle how the Holy Synod, in all its deliberations, is conducted by a hussar-general in red uniform with clanging spurs and a heavy riding-whip! On returning from a regimental muster, Count Protosoff pointed out to the metropolitans and archbishops under his supervision, the way to heaven! If the Holy Ghost communicates with hussars, why should not the Spirit of affairs descend upon the reserve cavalry! * * * The new Minister of Finance devises a system of taxation yielding no income but destroying entire branches of industry. * * * Billiards of depreciated paper, a ruinous exchange, small foreign credit, and none or a crushing one at home,—this is the dark situation."*

The *Ruski Mir*, of February, 1879, says:

"That we are badly off cannot be disputed. Debts, general poverty, pest, universal speculation by high and low, and total inability to reach the evil."

Yet let not the Czar be hastily condemned. He cannot escape the force of his origin and environment. Descendant of a long line of despots, he has inherited despotic predilections. He is surrounded by wily and determined counsellors, and must possess gigantic will and great moral, intellectual and physical superiority, to escape becoming in critical moments

* Last year Russia expended £36,000,000, England £32,000,000 and Germany and France £27,000,000 apiece, on their respective armaments.

their unconscious or their coerced instrument. He rules an empire of more than eighty million subjects; but they have no access to him except through the very officials who oppress them and who take good care that no complaint compromising to themselves shall reach the Czar, and who present to the Czar the incidentals in any disturbance, in such a light and supported by such evidence that the Czar leaves the oppressed at the mercy of the oppressor. It may be reasonably assumed that there is in Russia today no man so really ignorant of the actual condition of his subjects as the Czar,—the cat's-paw of the court camarilla. But granting that Alexander knows of the misery in his country, is he able to alleviate it? Any real reform, no matter how trivial, *granted on solicitation*, would at once be deemed a truckling to improper pressure, a sign of decadence in czarism. As long as the revolution holds up its head, the Czar cannot abate a jot of his autocratic power without imperiling his strongest intrenchment,—the popular belief in his omnipotence. Could he first crush the rebellion, then a way toward reform might be opened, but *even then*, only if the camarilla and the bureaucracy saw no other means of escape! As it is, the Czar can only cling in desperation to the straw of hope that the minions of despotism will, as in former times, be able to stamp out also this demand for liberty.

As long ago as last May (1879) we were informed, through the official as well as the semi-official mouth-pieces of the Russian Government, that,—

"The Third Section has already all the threads of the Nihilist conspiracy in its hands. The supreme direction of it is under a council settled abroad and acting in close connection with the International Association in London and with the German Socialists. The Nihilists include a large number of purely Russian agents; the most active members of the body are Poles, Germans and Jews, while nearly a third are females. The most dangerous Nihilists are already on the way to Siberia. Within three or four weeks all Russia will be clear of Nihilism, though by the sacrifice of many thousands of intelligent and educated people."

Thousands of intelligent and educated people have been sacrificed, but is all Russia cleared of Nihilism? The Czar is indeed in a pitiable plight. He is sure, in whatever direction he turns, to meet with powerful foes and obstacles. Should

he pronounce in favor of a constitution, the revolutionists would distrust it; and should the camarilla be unable alone to make his effort ineffectual, they can count on the Nationals and Panslavists for the defeat of any western innovation. Again, if the Czar should enter upon the path of reform in a truly Russian spirit, he declares war *à outrance* against the always loyal but execrable foreign machinery of his despotism, surrendering it and himself to the mercy of the revolutionists.

This brief *résumé* of Russia's national life shows that the Russians were from the first agriculturists and traders living under republican institutions; that while feudalism developed in Europe, Russia was under the heel of the Golden Horde; that the extinction of independent republics and the consolidation of absolute religious and political powers in the hands of one man were necessary for Russia's redemption; that fear of external enemies and gratitude to their liberators, made the Russians submit patiently to the ruthless rules of the first czars; that foreign attacks as late as the seventeenth century proved the necessity of despotic czarism for the protection of national independence; that Peter the Great first aroused the nation from its inertia, by sowing it with the wheat and the tares of strength, dissension, dissipation, ambition, servility, independence, tyranny, patriotism, pessimism and hope; that subsequent monarchs have closely followed in his steps, governing mainly through oppression, division, hypocrisy and war; that the campaign against Napoleon was Russia's first awakening to a realizing sense of her degraded position in the European family; while at the same time she saw that it was no longer czarism, but the momentum of the people which led Russia on to glory.

The defeat in the Crimea strikingly emphasized this fact, and the recent Treaty of Berlin seems to have opened the eyes of the Russian masses to the truth, that the terrible mission of czarism is really fulfilled. As Prince Dolgoronki so aptly states it in his *La Vérité sur la Russie*, page 378:

"Ten centuries ago, in 862, the Slavs of the North sent ambassadors to Rurik and his brothers to say 'our country is vast and fertile, but anarchy spoils it, come and deliver us from the

scourge!' After an existence of a thousand years, after having exhausted the modes of despotism, Russia is once more on the verge of a revolution, and we say to the Czar—'Sire, our country is vast and fertile, but absolutism and venality spoil it; deliver us from these scourges, grant us a government founded on law, and suitable to the needs of the time.'

At the festival banquet in St. Petersburg in his honor, on the 25th of March, 1879, M. Turgenieff said:

"Whatever may be said of the schisms between the two generations—of which the younger does not understand or care for the older, while the older again does as little justice to the new; yes, no matter what may be said by judges—generally most unfit—there are still wishes and hopes common to these quarrelling generations, in one word, an ideal neither far away nor floating in the clouds, but perhaps lying very near us, and embracing both. * * * He who speaks to you today, wrote *Fathers and Sons* sixteen years ago. Then, he could only portray the battle between the two generations, for the field on which they could amicably meet did not then exist. But now this common ground lies, even though not in reality, yet as a conceivable possibility with the full clearness of assurance, distinctly before thoughtful eyes. * * * The Government which does and ought to lead the destinies of our country, will comprehend still better and perhaps earlier than we do, the whole consequence and importance of the present moment, *a historical moment*, I say it outright! Upon the Government does it depend. If all the children of our extensive fatherland rally around the same thought and unite their efforts in truly serving Russia, this historical Russia offers corner-stones, on which we can orderly and peacefully rear the future.

"Allow me, therefore, allow an aged man, a member of the old generation, to propose the health of the new, and close by citing this verse from one of our great poets:

"Strengthened through hope, and pressing forward to honor and glory,
Our eyes are lifted and our breasts expand!"

At the banquet given him a little later at Moscow, Turgenieff—in this eloquent exclamation:—"The spark, the reforms, the legitimate change, the new order of things, all of these will say—'What we desire above all is a *constitution*, and the ultimate will be that we obtain one!'"—was the first and only prominent and conservative Russian, who has dared to publicly declare the nature of Russia's need and claim.

There can be no absolute credence given to the best data obtainable (except that which is purely historic, and even in

that, deductions are subject to the modifications resulting from combination of totality of data), no certainty of approximately just interpretations, no full conviction of having reached a central, well-balanced truth in comparing the causes and the combatants in this appalling death-struggle of czarism and Nihilism, at which the whole world is now gazing. For in a country where almost every district is under a petty czar, having absolute power over his small domain, and having that disposition in using it which generally accompanies much power, little wisdom and less conscience; in a country where every editor issues his journal, if permitted to issue it at all, between the muzzle of the Czar's cannon, the gibbet or dungeons of Siberia on one hand, and the secret mine or sure invisible dagger of the Nihilist on the other; where even the very revolutionary documents ascribed to nihilistic origin may be the garbled, distorted or entirely originated work of the Russian Government; in a country where every man, woman and child is shadowed by ceaseless, unintelligent and irresponsible suspicion, the truth cannot involve less than the most complex, patient, and at best, much-baffled search. Therefore the writer of this paper does not wish to be understood as offering any fixed or ripened opinion, but only as endeavoring to give as impartially and fully as he can—within the narrow limits of a review essay—the results of the most faithful study he has thus far been capable of giving to this subject, and which has led him to deem it probable that the benefit of the doubt as to which cause has the greater weight of right and justice on its side, must be given by the majority of impartial justice-loving minds—with or in spite of their sympathies—to the Nihilists.

However this struggle may end, there are signs and causes which indicate to some of the most thoughtful of living minds that the near future holds an hour in which the two great nations, Russia, and the United States of America, will see their mutual great occasion and take it at the flood, in an alliance which shall be a permanent basis for the whole future progress and enduring amity of nations,—the basis—than which there can scarcely be one more stable or better calculated

to withstand the tremendous shocks of national revolutionary struggles—of a ruling ideal in common, that of "*Land and Liberty!*"

Free America was settled on this basis, and her republic sprang from the flames and blood which conspire at every birth of liberty. Her prosperity, together with certain other causes less superficially apparent, has bred her present corruption, upon which the governments of Europe look attentively, with a mingled mind.

The effete system from which she originally rebelled, perceives her to be apparently returning into its embrace, as a ship which, having set forth with superb motion and splendid swell of sails, veers clumsily, and with collapsing canvas, back to its first port!

America needs a second inspiration! She that was cradled in the *Mayflower* should wed with the only *natural* republic on earth, for the very inception of Russia was in essence that of the republic. Republican institutions, which may be grafted on other national life, spring spontaneously in Russian soil, and the powerful enginery of centuries of the most despotic rule has not been able to root out the twin instincts of liberty and community there. If America needs a second inspiration, Russia needs her first,—that of recognition as a nation capable of self-government, and therefore of progress: a capacity proven, in that her desire for it has not only survived, but is now paralyzing an organized effort at obliteration, such as has never been tried upon any other people.

AXEL GUSTAFSON.

March 25, 1880.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Winter Palace explosion, occurring on the evening of February 5-17, excited the civilized world with an intense expectancy as to the Czar's next move. A St. Petersburg correspondent wrote to an English paper, some days after:

"Anarchy reigns supreme in every branch of the adminis-

tration. On the day following the disaster, no less than 1,260 suspected persons were arrested, including 60 officers and 115 court officials; the arrests continued nevertheless and have attained almost incredible proportions. There seems to be a general opinion abroad that something worse must follow ere long."

The *Moscow Gazette* cried out for an absolute dictatorship, deeming even the arbitrary powers vested in the governor-generals to be utterly insufficient against the evil. Simultaneously the Nihilists issued a proclamation acknowledging the Palace explosion as their work:

"By order of the Executive Committee," this proclamation said, "a fresh attempt on the life of Alexander the Hangman was made on the 5-17 of February, 1880, at 6:12 P. M. A mine blew up a portion of the Winter Palace. * * * The Government prevents the intellectual development of the life of the people. It is this which makes every honest man either give up serving the people, or carry on a sanguinary war against the present Government. * * * So long as Alexander does not take the first step towards liberty, we will triumph at all cost. We call on all Russian citizens to help us in our war against the inhuman autocracy which is destroying the best forces of the nation."

Just then it became known that the Czar had intrusted "secret, irresponsible and absolute" powers to a military dictator,—General Loris Melikoff.

General Melikoff is a middle-aged gentleman, short and slender in person, of Armenian birth, with strongly marked Armenian features. He graduated with distinction at the cadet school of the Guards, entered the army in Caucasus, and was promoted to be military commander of the district of Terek. During the Russo-Turkish war, he was Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies in Armenia. On the night of November 23d, 1877, he successfully stormed Kars, since which exploit he is generally known as the "hero of Kars." After the war, he earned well-merited honor for the energetic and wise manner in which he isolated and almost stamped out the terrible plague about Vetlianka and all over Astrakhan. Last year, he was appointed Governor-General of Chareow, which vied with Odessa and Moscow in nihilistic propagandism; and it is probable that the administrative skill, penetration and executive power he evinced in this position were leading

reasons for the Czar's choice of him as dictator over all Russia's internal affairs. It is asserted that General Melikoff is an illegitimate offspring of the Czar, by a noble Armenian lady. The name, Melikoff, signifies "descendant of the king."

The announcement that General Melikoff had been appointed dictator created a veritable panic in St. Petersburg, where he was then but little known. Had not General Gourko's spy-and-terror system been vigorous enough, that the Czar must needs appoint a semi-Turk who had no sympathies or natural relations with Russians! Even the London *Times* premised the sanguinary character of Melikoff's mission in these inciting words:

"By all means let this abominable conspiracy [of Nihilism] be rooted out, and let any measures be adopted which are really requisite for the purpose. There are times when the knife must be used in diseases of the body politic, no less than of the human frame."

General Melikoff commenced his administration by appointing members of a supreme commission to assist him; among whom we observe the able Reutern, lately Minister of Finance, and a member of the "Constantinowzin Triumvirate" (Gortschakoff, Golowin, and Reutern); General Ignatieff, the Panslavist, and Count Pahlen, lately Minister of Justice, whose duties in that position had begun just before the establishment of the first trial by jury, and who resigned when — after the acquittal of Vera Sassulitch — political offenders were denied that privilege. With the forming of this commission, General Melikoff issued an address to the citizens of St. Petersburg, wherein he modestly said:

"I can only promise one thing, that I will employ every effort and the fruits of my experience, on the one hand, to not permit the slightest forbearance, to not shrink from the most exemplary punishments respecting actions which are an insult to Russian society; on the other, to protect in a peaceful condition the lawful interests of the well-disposed portion of the community. * * * To society I look for the mainstay of the authorities in the renewal of a regular and orderly course of national life."

The 2d of March, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Czar's accession to the throne, was looked forward to with nervous expectancy as likely to be signalized by some dark event, or

momentous concession by the Government. But the day passed, the usual remission of taxes and government dues in general took place, but otherwise neither reform, ukase nor nihilistic attempt marked the occasion. The next day an attempt was unsuccessfully made to shoot General Melikoff, and the assassin, a Jew named Mladetzky, was tried, condemned and hanged within twenty-four hours. During his execution, the police arrested seven men for uttering seditious remarks. On being arraigned before General Melikoff, they confessed their error and he dismissed them, accepting their word of honor as guarantee for their good behavior.

The next number of the *Zemlja i Volja* admitted that Mladetzky had volunteered his services, but denied having authorized them; and further stated that the Executive Committee had not yet condemned General Melikoff, but were narrowly observing his acts. The resignations of General Gourko, the dreaded Governor-General of St. Petersburg, and General Drenteln, the Chief of the Secret Police in the beginning of March, and of Prof. Grigorieff, the Public Censor, a little later, gave to General Melikoff the supreme control of the Guards, the irresponsible Third Division and the arbitrary censorship over the press. On the 28th of March appeared the first number of the new official organ, the *Bereg*, or Shore, —evidently a breakwater for the billows of the revolution. Its editor is the learned M. Tsitowitch, ex-professor of the University at Odessa, and lately famous for his essays on Nihilism, especially in reply to M. Tchernischeffsky's *Que Faire?* The *Bereg* is now General Melikoff's only authorized mouth-piece. For the protection of the Czar as well as himself, General Melikoff ordered the first regiment of the Don Cossacks—who did such excellent police and guard-service under Melikoff during the Astrakhan plague—from Moscow to St. Petersburg to do guard duty at the Winter Palace, and the offices of the Supreme Commission.

Early in April he added to the advisory board of the commission an executive department, among whose ten members we find four members of the City Council of St. Petersburg—besides Adjutant-General Imeretinsky, Privy Councillor

Markoff, Director of the Chancellerie of the Interior Perfilief, etc. The first act of this department was to impress the entire correspondence and papers regarding all State criminals. Next followed an imperial ukase, elaborated by a committee presided over by Waluieff (made Count on the Czar's crown anniversary), regulating the powers of the governor-generals; abolishing completely the arbitrary powers vested in the officials last year, forbidding the governor-generals to mix in the current civil administration, excepting on extraordinary occasions, and commanding that they notify the Chief of the Supreme Commission and the Minister of the Interior of the name of every individual they deem it necessary to intern in other places (*dans d'autres localités*), and render "exact account of their reason for such act." Abstracts from this remarkable document—which seems almost an incredible order when read side by side with the annihilating ukase of April, 1879—appeared in *Le Nord* of the date of April 14th—the anniversary of Solowieff's attempt on the royal life!

Then, in a telegram from Charcow to the semi-official *La Voix* of April 15th, we read, that the Czar had pardoned three students at Charcow, condemned as State criminals, to banishment to Siberia. Since then, numerous mitigations of sentences and pardons of political offenders have come from General Melikoff. He has granted comparative freedom to the press in saying to its representatives that every liberty "will be granted to good subjects, but bad ones are doomed." He has put a stop to arbitrary arrests and to police provocations to crime. He has set an unofficial investigating committee to work on the examination of all records and documents of political trials pending, as well as all papers relating to political crimes that have been passed on since the appointment of provisional governor-generals last year! As one result of these investigations, it is already this month proposed to liberate 200 State prisoners at St. Petersburg, 4000 in the Empire, and to relieve 11,000 from State surveillance! General Melikoff has instituted thorough inquiry into the management of prisons. Some time ago, while on a visit to the district prisons in the Volga district, the General was

informed that the buildings had never been cleaned, and at the late census taken it was found that buildings destined to hold at the most 43,000, had been forced to accommodate 63,000. Even the *Moscow Gazette* complains that grammar-boys have been kept for three years in these frightful places without trial, and, when at last tried, found guilty of only trivial offence and sentenced to light punishment, after having, in that dreary waiting, been reduced to mere skeletons in body and spirit of their former selves. General Melikoff also proposes to supply Russia's serious need of a middle class by pardoning the eleven million Russian dissenters. These differing sects, cemented by a common struggle with restrictions that have stimulated their intellects, energy and ambition, form in the general departments of trade and industry, the very sinews of the nation.

Religious education in the schools has been confided to the charge of lay teachers.

Such, briefly, are the characteristics and some of the more salient features of General Melikoff's administration, indicating not only his broad judicious grasp of the present situation, but that he deliberately aims at an organic and peaceful preparation of Russia for transition from absolutism to a constitutional power. It is no longer imminently likely that he will fall by order of the Executive Committee, though the volunteer and unauthorized assassin may at any moment appear; it is from the court cabal, by the foes as it were of his own household, that General Melikoff's life and career are menaced. But his work, if he cannot carry it to completion, is nevertheless too well begun to be undone, nor can it fail of permanent beneficent results, and for it he deserves the admiration and gratitude of the civilized world.

AXEL GUSTAFSON.

May 24, 1880.

ART. II.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF FINAL CAUSES.

1. *First Principles of a New System of Philosophy.* BY HERBERT SPENCER. London: 1869.
2. *The Physical Basis of Life—An Essay.* BY THOMAS HUXLEY, F.R.S. London: 1870.
3. *Problems of Life and Mind.* BY GEO. HENRY LEWES. London: 1874.
4. *La Philosophie des Causes Finales.* PAR M. E. VACHEROT. *Revue des Deux Mondes.* Troisième Période. Tome XVI. Paris: 1876.

"Les activités du monde sont le reflet des idées de Dieu."—PAPILLON.

THE belief in the existence of a Supreme Being is apparently as old as man. So generally held is it under one form or another, among every people, that atheists, in the strict sense of the word, may be considered exceptional existences. And yet, whenever the attempt has been made to formulate the grounds of this belief, theologians have not succeeded in giving general satisfaction. If we examine the current arguments on the subject they will be found not only unsatisfactory from a scientific stand-point, but wholly inadequate to account for the prevalence of the belief among rude and ignorant peoples. "Whatever exhibits marks of design must have had an intelligent author," is the substance of all the argument on natural theology, and is the argument which is supposed to have led the ancient Greek and the North American Indian, the savants of Europe and the savages of Africa to a belief in, and worship of, a Supreme Being. The reasons which have led to so great a unanimity of opinion on this subject must possess more of an instinctive

character than is generally conceded. Whether it is addressed to the highest or lowest order of intellect this argument of the schools would seem to possess little real weight. What can a South-Sea Islander whose highest idea of design consists in rubbing two sticks together to produce fire, or in poisoning an arrow to produce death, infer from the adaptations of nature, the fitting of organs to function, the modifications of structure to suit changing conditions? On the other hand, the recent developments of science have raised the more advanced thinkers above this idea of design in the ordinary sense of the word. To the scientist of today the world presents itself as the necessary outgrowth of forces to which he can assign no beginning, and for the origin of which he seeks no explanation. Nature is all in all to him. He knows no power outside of it; he seeks no explanation beyond it: he tries merely to understand it.

Given the forces of light, heat, electricity, etc., physical phenomena are explainable. If there is such a force as chemical affinity, no additional power is requisite to account for an explosion of gunpowder under certain conditions. The attraction of gravity needs no outside assistance to hold our planetary system together. So of every conceivable physical phenomenon. Whatever power may exist in the universe, it manifests itself in physical phenomena only under the form of physical force: and of such force only can intelligent people take cognizance. This is admitted by the most orthodox thinkers; and indeed it is tacitly assumed in every physical inquiry. For, if there is any power in the universe capable of suspending the action of physical forces, or which ever suspends them; if, for example, gunpowder may, or may not, explode under the same conditions; if an unsupported body may, or may not, fall to the ground; if any physical event may, or may not, happen in accordance with physical law—then there is not a single conclusion of science which is worth the paper on which it is written. All these conclusions assume as a fundamental postulate the absolute uniformity of nature—that what occurs once will, under similar conditions, occur again. They assume, in other words, that the only

power with which we have to deal in physical phenomena is that which manifests itself under the various forms of physical energy; and that this Power, whatever you may choose to call it, follows invariable laws in its activity.

Were the forces of nature suddenly to stop their action, leaving as it were their shell—their fossilized remains—if such a conception be possible; and were this shell submitted to the inspection of some intelligent creature, he would certainly conclude, as he traced the adaptation of the parts to each other, that it was made with a purpose, that it was the creation of intelligence. But nature is not a dead, inert mass; it is full of life and activity. It is not a fossil—the handiwork of an intelligence which has departed; it is an active, living power—a manifestation of *present* intelligence, the origin of which is not in question, but whose nature and character we seek to understand. Its adaptations are not the work of an intelligence lying back of it, or above it. They are of the same sort as the intelligent acts of our fellow creatures. They do not show an intelligent author, but an intelligent actor.

The argument from design, therefore, is unsatisfactory from every point of view. It does not address itself with any force to the great mass of mankind who are steeped in ignorance, and it is inconsistent with scientific inquiry. It proposes an explanation which to the ignorant is unmeaning, and to the learned is beside the question—an explanation which science utterly ignores. It is not the evidence of design, but the evidence of *Power*, which has given rise to the notion of God. It is the manifestation throughout nature of energies distinct from those of our fellow creatures, it is the power exhibited in the storm and earthquake, that first impressed on benighted men the belief in a superhuman will—an explanation patent to the most ignorant, and irresistible to the most learned.

All effects within our experience require the expenditure of force. We never produce any physical change without the consciousness of effort. It is natural, therefore, and it is strictly logical, that when we perceive other similar changes occurring about us, not the result of animal agency, we should

attribute them to a similar cause—to the only one we know—Will. The object of all scientific inquiry, aside from a knowledge of the facts, as Prof. Tyndall declares, is to represent in thought *how* the phenomena occur. Referring to the phenomena of light and their hidden cause, he says: "To realize this subsensible world, if I may use the term, the mind must possess a certain pictorial power. It has to visualize the invisible. It must be able to form definite images of the things which that subsensible world contains; and to say that, if such or such a state of things exist in that world, then the phenomena which appear in ours must, of necessity, grow out of this state of things. If the picture be correct, the phenomena are accounted for; a physical theory has been enunciated which unites and explains them all." But, as we are limited for our materials to the data of experience, we cannot of course transcend that experience. When we attempt to conceive the energies of nature we are limited of necessity to the only form we know—volition.

This idea—the evidence of will in the phenomena of nature—forms the theme of Dr. Carpenter's closing chapter in his *Mental Physiology*, and it is there fully explained and defended. A brief quotation, however, will suffice to give the gist of his remarks. He says the law of gravitation "is an expression of the fact that everywhere and under all circumstances, two masses of matter *attract* one another in certain definite ratios; and the term 'attract' implies that they are drawn together by a *force* similar to that which directly impresses itself upon our consciousness by the *sense of effort* we experience when we lift a pound-weight from the ground." * This cause, this power which manifests itself in natural phenomena, is, alike to all, the object of worship; it corresponds to the theologian's God. †

* Page 695.

† "Le mouvement peut servir à mesurer," says M. Papillon, "non à expliquer la force. Il est aussi subordonné à celle-ci que la parole l'est à la pensée. En effet, le mouvement n'est autre chose que la suite des positions successives d'un corps dans différents points de l'espace. La force, au contraire, est la tendance, la tension qui détermine ce corps à passer continuellement de l'un à l'autre de ces points, c'est-à-dire la puissance par laquelle ce corps, considéré en un moment quelconque de sa course, diffère d'un corps identique en repos."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Seconde Période, Tome CV, p. 697.

But its attributes are not by any means the same to all. The untutored savage recognizes, in the operations of nature, power, and instinctively bows down before it. But to him, each object in nature is a separate entity—a distinct god—and he endows it individually with affections and will. He embodies in nature what he finds in himself; and the wisest can do no more. The conception of the universe is, with every one, an attempt to construct a scheme of nature which shall accord with the facts and account for the phenomena. The difference in the result is the difference in experience and the power of generalization. The flashing thunderbolt which, to the savage mind, is the stroke of a wrathful deity, is, to the scientist, an exhibition of the same force that draws the needle to the pole. The savant, equally with the savage, recognizes in the operations of nature will-power; but to the former all its various phenomena are exhibitions of the same great will. The multitude of gods are merged into one; caprice is banished; chance has no place; order reigns throughout the universe. All nature, in fine, resolves itself into the phenomena of force; and all force is one.

The grandest generalization of modern science is the equivalence of forces, or the persistence and conservation of energy. The doctrine itself is not new. Sir William Hamilton founds the law of causality on our inability to conceive the sum of existence either increased or diminished. We cannot conceive an absolute beginning, or absolute annihilation. When any phenomenon, therefore, rises into existence, we are compelled to believe that its essence, or as a physicist would say, its energy, existed before under another form—its cause, and will continue to exist forever in its effects. In accordance with this view he defines creation as “God passing into activity, yet not exhausted in the act;” and as a necessary inference, he would accede to the proposition that God and nature are *pro tanto* identical.

We are indebted, however, to the labors of modern scientists for the experimental proof of the proposition that physical energy is in fact indestructible; and that, when any portion disappears, an exact equivalent is certain to reappear in another

form. It is established, in other words, that physical energy under all its various forms is essentially one, and this one is forever the same in quantity and in its essential character. It may appear as light, or heat, or chemical affinity, or electricity; but in all its forms it is still force, and is neither increased nor diminished by its changes. Matter itself, so far as we know it, is a mere aggregation of force-points; not a dead, inert mass, vitalized and controlled by a force, or forces, *ab extra*; it is force itself. Take away the force and you destroy the matter, so far as we are concerned. "From the most general and abstract point of view, then," says M. Papillon, in his fine essay on *La Constitution de la matière*, "matter is at once form and force, that is, there is no essential difference between these two modes of substance. Form is simply force circumscribed, condensed. Force is simply form indefinite, diffused. Such is the net result of the methodical inquiries of modern science, and one which forces itself on our minds, apart from any systematic premeditation." *

But this force which manifests itself in physical phenomena—which, as we have seen, gives form and substance to our material conceptions—is, in fact, the only power known. In one sense, "mind is the measure of the universe." We know only what reveals itself in consciousness, and we know it only as conceived *by* consciousness. In other words, the *form* of our conceptions is determined by our nature, as it determines also their limit. Whatever may exist, we know only what is capable of affecting our senses, and we necessarily conceive it under a form imposed by the laws of thought. But this same thought, which gives form and substance to material objects, may penetrate to some extent the disguise it imposes, and study the cause of these phenomena as well as that of its own existence. Disregarding the vast difference in appearance, the testimony of science is clear and emphatic that

* "Au point de vue le plus général et le plus abstrait, la matière est donc tout à la fois forme et force, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a pas de différence essentielle entre ces deux modes de la substance. La forme n'est que de la force circonscrite, condensée. La force n'est que de la forme indéfinie, diffuse. Tel est le résultat net des investigations méthodiques de la science moderne, et qui s'impose à l'esprit en dehors de toute préméditation systématique."—*Revue des Deux Mondes*, Seconde Période, Tome CV, p. 698.

all phenomena of the inorganic world have a common origin : that heat, light, electricity, and their correlatives are in reality the same thing. More recent progress correlates with these the so-called vital force, including under this all the phenomena of thought and volition. "Formerly," says Professor Hermann, of the University of Zürich, in the Introduction to his *Elements of Human Physiology*, "formerly an attempt was made to explain the peculiar processes which have their seat in the animal organism, by supposing them endowed with properties special to it, and heritable, depending on a supposed 'vital force.' This vague conception has, however, been abandoned since the laws of inorganic nature have been discovered to preside over the most thoroughly investigated processes of life, and especially since the application to the organic world of a great principle of modern science has taught us the relations which exist between the changes in the matter and the forces of organized beings. Relying upon this knowledge, we believe that the forces of living are the same as those of inanimate bodies, and that they obey the same laws, and consequently, that it will ultimately be possible to explain the hitherto incomprehensible phenomena of living beings, particularly their morphological processes, by physical and chemical laws."

Professor Youmans also holds to the identity of origin of physical and mental phenomena. He says (*Introduction to Prof. Grove's Essay on Correlation and Conservation of Forces*, p. xxxii): "From the great complexity of the conditions [in organic phenomena] the same exactness will not, of course, be expected here as in the inorganic field, but this is one of the necessary limitations of physiological and psychological inquiry ; thus qualified the proofs of the correlation of the nervous and mental forces with the physical, are as clear and decisive, as those for the physical forces alone." Similarly Professor Bain observes : "The arguments for the two substances [mind and body] have, we believe, now entirely lost their validity ; they are no longer compatible with ascertained science and clear thinking. The one substance with two sets of properties, two sides, the physical and the mental—a double-faced unity—

would appear to comply with all the exigencies of the case." *

But it is needless to multiply quotations on this subject. If we rid our minds of the prejudice imposed by preconceived ideas, and leave ourselves free to judge the facts as we would in other cases, but one conclusion is possible. All the phenomena of life may be explained on a common hypothesis: a double origin breeds only discord and confusion. Like matter, thought and volition,—or consciousness, which is the basis of all the mental faculties, through which, as metaphysicians say, all mental qualities manifest themselves,—are absolutely dependent on the physical energy which underlies them. Injure or destroy the brain and spinal cord which are the seat of these physical energies, and you injure or destroy the mind itself. Given the capacity of the brain and its auxiliaries as a physical apparatus, and you have an exact measure of the individual's capacity for thought and emotion. Given the character of the brain, spinal cord and sympathetic system as a physical organism, and you have the character of the person morally and intellectually.

How chemical action can take upon itself the form of thought and emotion, or how it can give rise to them as an accompaniment of its action, is of course inconceivable. Nor do we gain anything by introducing the term *dynamic*. As little can we represent to ourselves *how* the chemical action changes its form to heat or electricity; that is, *how* one form of motion manifests itself as light, another as sound, another as electricity, another as chemical affinity. In their phenomenal aspects there is as little resemblance between any two of these forces as between either, and the strictly mental qualities. Yet we know that physical energy does so change its form. When a certain quantity of force disappears as light, or heat, an exact equivalent is sure to reappear as electricity, chemical affinity, or some other form

* *Body and Mind*, p. 196.—Mr. Lewes has well said that subject and object are inseparable "in any real sense—are only separable ideally"—a fact too often overlooked or disregarded by old school metaphysicians. The same author makes an eloquent dissertation on the beautiful and sublime facts of correlation: "As the flower which comes into existence through the action of the sun, incorporates the energy of the sun and grows by what it takes from the sun, so the sentient organism incorporates the energy of the external and reproduces all that produced it."—*Problems of Life and Mind*. Vol. I, p. 174.

of physical energy. Or, to put the whole subject in a single sentence, so far as our means of testing the matter go, no force ever begins to be, or, once existing, ever ceases; the sum of these forces is a constant quantity. Whatever influence the mind exerts must be consistent with this conclusion. As we shall note more fully further on, thought and volition are more appropriately represented as a concomitant of chemical action under certain conditions, rather than forces as themselves. Or, perhaps we may say, they *are* chemical force, under certain conditions, *rising into recognition of its own activity*. At any rate, every physical event has an adequate *physical* cause. Volition, therefore, is without physical influence, or it is itself a link in the chain of physical causes.

If this is not true—if thought or volition can originate motion *de novo*—its action is an absolute creation and its activity must add to the sum of existence. For motion, which is a form of force, once existing, is, in its character as force, eternal. We are compelled, then, to accept one or the other of these alternatives: If volition exerts any physical influence, it is itself a link in the chain of physical causes, or its activity adds to the sum of physical forces. If we accept the latter alternative, then either the basis of modern philosophy and modern science, that force is eternal and indestructible, is false; or that other generalization, on which recent science so much dwells, that the sum of these forces is a constant quantity, must be abandoned, and we must accept as true, what Sir William Hamilton says is inconceivable, that force which is existence can be created, and created by a finite creature, man. And this is true if we assume that volition merely touches the trigger, so to say, and thereby liberates the physical energy stored up in the nervous tissue; for physical forces in a state of equilibrium, whether stable or unstable, can only be set in motion by another force which overbalances the equilibrium. This other force, whether small or great, is an essential link in the chain of cause and effect. It is just as essential as any other; and the principles which apply to it will apply to all.

Again, if a distinct substance, or an independent origin, is

necessary to account for thought and volition in the case of man, it is equally necessary in the lower animals. If our desires and volition, themselves uncaused in a physical sense, can fire a train of nervous energy which results in muscular activity, the same cause must exist wherever we find the same mechanism attended by the same result, else reasoning, as applied to objective existence, is utterly false. Or, to reverse the statement, if the desires and volition of the lower animals are simply attendant phenomena of nervous energy, what right have we, in man, to interpose a new element, where the facts to be explained are essentially the same? It is too late to deny the essential similarity of man and the lower animals; the rudiment of every faculty possessed by us is found in them. And these faculties are the same in kind—consciousness is consciousness, and thought is thought—whether exhibited in a man or a dog. But if you admit a spiritual element in the lower animals, where do the functions of matter end and those of spirit begin? How low in the order of nature will you go with this spiritual substance? Has a tadpole a soul? Does an amœba, or a speck of undifferentiated protoplasm, enjoy the distinction of personal immortality? If one accepts the doctrine of evolution, when an organism in the course of development first begins to feel, then, *præsto*, a new element appears, namely, soul. If one rejects this doctrine, one does not escape the difficulty, for there is a broad border land between sentient and non-sentient creatures, where the difference is so slight that it is impossible to draw the line with certainty; yet it is just this difference that culminates in man, and requires, we are told, a distinct element—a different *kind* of force—to account for, namely, spirit.*

* [It is obviously true that all one knows of the Cosmos is predicated on phenomena, and that by phenomena one is informed as to states of matter, only; and yet it is equally obvious that outside of all this there is a vast region of the Unknowable in which the Ego, the conscious I, is the central figure. This something, call it by whatsoever name one will, is not force, it is rather the differentiating principle in matter—in nature. Force and matter, if one can conceive of them as distinct from each other, are but the instruments of its manifestation. Every one is conscious of a "Self," and equally conscious of the existence of a "Not-self." This is a fact of feeling indissolubly woven into consciousness. It is absolutely inexplicable; and as Mr. Lewes forcibly says,

Let us look at the matter from a different stand-point. Recent experiments upon the lower animals prove beyond doubt that many of the acts commonly considered voluntary, and which are certainly attended by consciousness, are in fact automatic, and are as well performed in the entire absence of consciousness or volition. Pflüger carefully removed from a frog the entire encephalon, leaving only the spinal cord. He then touched the thigh with acetic acid, to the application of which frogs are peculiarly sensitive. The animal thereupon rubbed the irritated part with the foot of the same side, apparently appreciating and localizing the irritation and endeavoring, by a voluntary effort, to remove it. The foot of this side was then amputated, and the irritation was renewed in the same place. The animal made an ineffectual attempt to reach the spot with the amputated member, and, failing in this, after some general movements, rubbed the spot with the limb of the opposite side. Here we have a series of acts, which are commonly considered the result of sensation and volition, as well performed in the entire absence of the brain. We have, in other words, proof positive that sensation and volition are not confined to the brain, nor to the mind, as ordinarily conceived, but are powers which may be exercised—nay, are exercised—by the spinal cord and the medulla oblongata.

Again, remove the cerebral hemispheres from a pigeon and analogous results are observed. Pinch the toes and there is an effort to remove the foot. Pass a lighted candle in front of it, and the head follows its motion. Discharge a pistol, and the eyes are opened and other evidences given that the sound is heard, or rather makes its proper impression on the nerves, but excites no emotion. Referring to this experiment, Dr. Maudsley says: "It is quite evident from this experiment that general sensibility and special sensations are possible after the removal of the hemispheres; but they are not then transformed into ideas. The impressions of sense reach and affect the sensory centres, but they are not intellectually *perceived*; and the

the attempt to explain it is an idle act. "The search for light behind the light," he avers, "is the natural illusion of reason—the will o' wisp of philosophy."—*Problems of Life and Mind*, Vol. I, p. 163. EDITORS.]

proper movements are excited, but these are reflex or automatic." *

If, notwithstanding these facts, any one chooses to assert that mind is a distinct power, or existence, apart from the physical organism—an existence, however, which can neither know itself nor manifest itself, except through physical energies—it is not possible, as yet, to demonstrate his error, except on the plane of the knowable. But the hypothesis is opposed to every principle of sound reasoning—to every principle which is recognized of binding force in other departments of knowledge. Sir William Hamilton, who was certainly conservative enough, from a theological stand-point, in his methods and results, lays down, as the fundamental principle of sound reasoning, that, in explaining any phenomena, we have no right to assume more causes than are necessary, or, where known causes suffice, we have no right to invent new ones. Now, we have, in the physical energies connected with the nervous organism, a cause which the most eminent physiologists hold to be adequate to explain, so far as explanation is possible, all mental phenomena. We certainly have, in these physical energies, an invariable accompaniment of mental activity—an accompaniment exactly proportioned to this activity. This is the only evidence we have of a causal connection in any case; and it is certainly as easy and as rational to believe that consciousness and thought are direct results of cerebral action, or the recognition by cerebral forces of their own activity, as it is to believe this activity essential to *enable the brain to think*; and one or the other is certainly true, for, so far as we know mind at all—that is, the principle of intelligence—we know it only in connection with cerebral action.

Unless it can be shown, therefore, that the hypothesis of a common basis for mind and matter involves a contradiction, or inconceivable conditions, it is logically irresistible. This is attempted, and it is the only objection which has ever been urged, aside from the necessity of an individual soul to maintain our personal immortality, in the statement that mental qualities are so entirely different from physical qualities, that

* *Body and Mind*, pp. 20-21.

thought and volition are so absolutely distinct from form, color, weight, etc., that we cannot conceive, to adopt philosophical language, the two sets of attributes inhering in the same substance. Whatever force there might be in this objection is, however, utterly destroyed when you abandon the old notion of the objective existence of the physical qualities of matter as such. As we have seen, we know matter only as an objective cause of sensation—as power, energy. The various physical qualities, as we conceive them, are altogether the product of thought—the knowledge of sensations. Atoms, which are assumed as the vehicle of these forces, have no more real existence than the old metaphysical “entities” which modern scientists so much deride. *Ex hypothesi*, if they existed, we could not know it, as it is the forces only that centre in them which exert any influence. And these forces are certainly as appropriate an explanation of mental as of physical phenomena. Or, to reverse the statement: invent what explanation you like for mental phenomena, and the same cause will account for physical qualities.

This is a legitimate corollary from the approved teaching of the best scientific authorities, and it is not inconsistent with the most profound philosophical speculation. It affords, we believe, a broad neutral ground on which the contending hosts of science and metaphysics may meet and embrace. Professor Tyndall’s celebrated declaration, in his Belfast Address, that he discovered in matter “the promise and potency of every form of life,” is chiefly objectionable to timid and conservative people from the form of the expression. If he had said, what doubtless he would accept as substantially equivalent, that the same power which manifests itself in the forces of inorganic nature is concerned in the production of all forms of life, and that these forms equally with those forces are the unfolding of a Being, from everlasting to everlasting the same, and whose activity, under similar circumstances, is invariable—if he had put his thought in some such form as this, there are many of the most profound theologians who would accept it without qualification.

Professor Huxley, however, is perhaps the most prominent

scientist who has risen above what may be called the mere physical view of nature. "The more completely," he says, "the materialistic proposition is admitted, the easier it is to show that the idealistic position is unassailable, if the idealist confines himself within the limits of positive knowledge."*

On the other hand, among modern philosophical writers the idealist hypothesis meets almost unanimous approval. J. Stuart Mill defines matter as a "permanent possibility of sensation," that is the *power* which causes the phenomena we call physical. Herbert Spencer adopts substantially the same view. Almost without exception the profoundest thinkers of the age, whether physieists or metaphysicians, concede that we know matter only as the power which manifests itself in physical phenomena, and mind as the power concerned in consciousness and its attendant phenomena. It remains only to connect the two, and strive to attain some faint but just conception of the character and attributes of this power which is concerned in all existence, or rather, which *is* all existence, and which manifests itself in all phenomena, whether physical or mental.

Whether you choose to call this power mind or matter, God or nature, is of no consequence. All we know of it is as it reveals itself in consciousness, through natural phenomena—as force. This is the only agent recognized by science; it is the only power revealed in nature. If there is anything beyond this, if there is any power in the universe save that which can be measured thermometrically, or recognized in the molecules of matter, it has not been discovered; phenomena do not require it; science does not regard it. As force only is this power revealed in the heavens or on the earth, in mind or in matter; as force only can it be apprehended in thought. The attributes of force are the attributes of God.

Now, what are these attributes? The only force of which we have immediate knowledge—that revealed in consciousness—is indissolubly connected with a nervous organization, and is endowed with consciousness and intelligence. Are these qualities, or conditions, essential to each other? The answer to

* *English Men of Letters: Hume*, pp. 79, 80.

this question will determine largely the proper conception to be formed of nature or God; but the matter is one which is not susceptible of direct observation or positive proof. The most we can hope for is a rational probability. We cannot make a nervous organism, and, if we could, we would have no direct means to determine whether it were conscious. Our decision in any case is a matter of inference. In the case of our fellow-creatures, possessing an organism more or less resembling our own, and whose acts correspond with what we should anticipate of ourselves under like conditions, that inference is inevitable; and we are as firmly persuaded of the conscious existence of our fellow-men and the higher order of animals generally, as we are of our own. But as we pass down the scale of existence, the inference becomes more and more doubtful, until at length we reach a border land where no one presumes to say with any degree of assurance that there is, or is not, consciousness. Outside a nervous organization we are absolutely in the dark. There is no reason in the nature of things, so far as we know, why nerve-cells, more than any other cells, should recognize their own existence and activity, or why they should give rise to consciousness as an accompaniment of their action. But we know in our own experience that they do; and we do not know it, and we have no means of ascertaining it, in any other case. Electricity or chemical affinity may be conscious in other forms or conditions. All we can say of the matter is, we do not know it, and if they were conscious we could not discover it. "A brain," says Professor Huxley, "may be the machinery by which the material universe becomes conscious of itself,"* and the probability would seem to be that consciousness is confined to this form of energy.

But consciousness is not at all essential to intelligence. "The more I have examined the workings of my own mind," says Francis Galton, "* * * * the less respect I feel for the part played by consciousness. I begin with others to doubt its use altogether as a healthful superior, and to think that my best brain-work is wholly independent of it." Certainly, it is not essential to intelligent action, for all the

English Men of Letters: Hume, p. 79.

processes of nature show intelligent action. Moreover, every one is more or less familiar with unconscious cerebration in the sudden recollection of names or facts, after every effort to recall them had failed, and the subject had apparently passed entirely out of mind. Dr. Carpenter, indeed, devotes a considerable portion of his work on *Mental Physiology* to this phase of the subject, and he derives from it an explanation of much which before was obscure. As an instance of its ordinary action, he says: "There is considerable ground to believe that the best *judgments* are often mentally delivered, in difficult cases, by the unconscious resolution of the difficulties in the way of arriving at a conclusion, when the question (after being *well considered* in the first place) is left to *settle itself*."*

Illustrations are abundant in the experience of every one. Indeed, the greater portion of our physical life is unconscious life. The action of the heart and other organs is entirely so. And even such acts as walking, talking, playing on a musical instrument, and other voluntary acts require no conscious supervision, the nerve centres unconsciously coördinating the necessary movements. So of the instances heretofore given from the lower orders of life. The action of the decapitated frog, as described by Pflüger, is certainly intelligent, and, if the common opinion is correct in regard to the functions of the cerebral hemispheres, it is just as certainly unconscious. The spinal cord, in fact, exhibits all the evidence of intelligence which is required of it in the physical economy. It adapts means to an end; it possesses memory; it is capable of education, as every child that learns to walk, talk, play on a musical instrument, etc., abundantly proves. The physiologists call these processes "automatic," "habit," etc., and endow the animal with a new sense, namely "muscular sense," to which we make no objection, so long as the rationale of such acquirements is not obscured by such technical phraseology.

This is true also of the physical forces. The action of these forces is absolutely constant; the adaptation of means to an end is perfect. The ever-changing environment of animal life, resulting from the changing condition of our

* *Mental Physiology*, p. 531.

planet, has been met by an equally constant growth and development. New conditions have called forth new powers, or new combinations. A higher and more complex organic life keeps constant pace with the ever-changing progress of the inorganic world.

It is impossible to conceive of this except as the action of intelligence. If it is not this, it is wholly unmeaning. The common understanding represents this intelligence as lying back of the phenomena and independent of them. The latter are said to be the result of laws established for the government of nature—the manifestation of forces, themselves blind agents in the hands of an infinite intelligence. But does this conception help the matter?—does it bring us any nearer a solution of the difficulty? Law is merely a rule of action, an inevitable sequence. It is the uniformity we discover in natural phenomena. It has no objective existence. When we find, from experience, that oxygen and hydrogen combine in certain definite proportions to produce water, and that these and other elements combine in other definite proportions to produce other compound bodies, we say that these proportions are laws of chemical combination. But this does not explain *why* they combine. The law is merely a generalization of experience; it is only a terse way of saying that they *do* combine, and always, under similar circumstances, in the same way. Why they combine in this proportion rather than some other, or why they combine at all, is explicable only from the nature of the forces concerned, as a choice similar to that exercised by ourselves where several courses are open. To represent the force which is concerned in the phenomenon, and which is all we know in connection with it, as simply a blind agent, and the choice as exercised by another force lying back of it, which we call God, is certainly no advantage, so far as our conception of the matter is concerned, and is without the slightest evidence in the phenomena themselves.

Whatever exercises choice, and is capable of memory and education or improvement, is intelligent; and in this sense, the lower nervous functions manifest intelligence. With inorganic forces the action is absolutely uniform, because the conditions

are so; and it would argue imperfection, lack of intelligence, were it otherwise. But there is little doubt, if heat or electricity could be carried to a sphere where different conditions prevailed, its action would gradually be modified to suit its changed circumstances. At any rate, the fact that it *does* not change is no proof that it *cannot*; nor does it show lack of intelligence, any more than the uniform action of the mind under similar circumstances.

Our meaning will be best illustrated by a simple example. Pour a little water on the ground and it exercises choice which way it will run. True, that choice is absolutely determined by the conditions: *i. e.*, we know it will choose to seek the lowest plane. But the choice is of precisely the same sort as that exercised by the mind in determining any action—it follows the direction offering least resistance. We speak of the one as certain, the other uncertain; the one dumb, the other intelligent, because in one case we know the conditions and can, therefore, predict the result; in the other not, or not with the same degree of certainty. We say the water is attracted by the earth and necessarily falls when unsupported; the mind exercises free-will. But there is, in reality, no more freedom in the one case than in the other. The water obeys a law of its nature, which we call the attraction of gravity, but which in truth is only a name for the general fact, that matter seeks to unite itself with all other matter with a force proportioned to its mass and inversely as the square of the distance. The mind also is impelled to activity and seeks the gratification of its desires in proportion to their strength and the circumstances calling them into play. The choice in either case is equally certain, and equally determined by the nature of the body and surrounding circumstances.

The memory of physical nature, and its capacity for education, is illustrated in the development of the organic world. If evolution is true, all reflex nervous action, all instinctive habits, in fact all the diverse forms of animal and vegetal life, are proofs of the memory and education of things purely physical. The bee forms its comb in a particular way; each species of bird builds its nest after a particular pattern, and

selects for it a particular sort of place, because the manner of working, and the taste, gradually perfected by consecutive generations of workers, have become organized into a "habit" of its nature. Change the circumstances surrounding these creatures, in the particulars affecting their habits, and there is every reason to believe they will change their instincts to correspond. Even in man, it is admitted that a large part of the nervous and muscular activity is automatic, and at the same time is improved by education. The coördination of movements to a degree requisite to play on a musical instrument, to dance on a tightrope, or to perform any other difficult feat requiring the combined activity and delicate sensibility of various muscles, is only acquired by practice, and is acquired much more readily by those whose ancestors have excelled in the same way. Yet, in all these cases the volition extends, after the coördination is effected, only to the excitation of the requisite nervous energy. The details of the act are purely automatic; they are of precisely the same sort as the instinct of the bee or the bird, and depend on the memory and education of the nervous centres.

There is no impropriety, therefore, in speaking of matter as intelligent. It exercises choice; it possesses memory; it is capable of education or improvement; and the choice, the memory, the education is of precisely the same sort as that of mind. Every individual existence, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, is a mere aggregation of matter; and its life and development are absolutely determined by the character of its forces and environment. The only difference between them, so far as we can judge, is in the complexity and stability of their organization. Their life is of the same sort; the thoughts, feelings and desires of the one are as natural and as necessary a result of the forces in operation, as the form and color, or chemical reactions of the other.

Whether consciousness exists aside from nervous organization we cannot tell. It is probably confined to the higher states and conditions of matter. As electricity assumes the form and exercises the power of heat only under certain conditions, and as heat only becomes chemical affinity under certain other

conditions, it may well be that the same force only takes upon itself the form of conscious energy, when it exists in connection with what we call a nervous organization. But, if our position is well taken, this characteristic is only one phase of its multiform power. It is no more a distinguishing feature than the peculiar characteristics of heat, light, electricity, or chemical affinity. What is there in common between the manifestations of heat and light (the two forms of energy which seem most closely related), or between either and electricity or chemical affinity? So far as appearances go—so far as their mode of manifestation is concerned—they are as widely separated from each other as consciousness is from either. The peculiarity of consciousness proves nothing at all, as to the nature of the force concerned. No two physical forces in their manifestations have anything in common; yet we know, from the best possible evidence, that all are essentially the same—that, under certain conditions, each may take upon itself the form of the other, or rather, that each may *become* the other. Now, we have evidence of the same sort, though not perhaps of the same strength, that one of these forces (chemical affinity) may produce, under certain conditions, consciousness. There is no more reason for rejecting this evidence, or the conclusion to which it points, because of the peculiarity of the new phase, than there would be to disbelieve in the essential unity of the physical forces because they differ in their manifestations.

We should represent the universe, then, as a Being, infinite in variety, in extent, in duration; ever changing, yet ever essentially the same; ever involving itself in greater and greater complexity, and, anon, returning to its simplest form. Sporting in boundless space, it passes from everlasting to everlasting in a cycle of changes; now producing a world with its variegated life and activity, again absorbing it for new forms and new combinations. It is an infinite ocean of resources, in whose depths is included all life, actual or possible, past, present, or to come—an ocean whose waves are individual existences, which, pushed up for a moment to a greater or less elevation, shine with beneficent light, then break into spray, and sink back into the bosom whence they arose.

J. McLAIN SMITH.

ART. III.—THE VALUE AND REGULATION OF CURRENCY.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was a period in which the principles of currency underwent, probably, a more profound discussion than in any period before or since.

The great work of Adam Smith had made its appearance long enough before to become known to students of political economy, and to exert the powerful influence that it did on the thought of the age. Adam Smith was followed by such thinkers and writers as Storch, Say, Garnier, Ricardo, James Mill, J. R. McCulloch, all of whom, with others scarcely less eminent, belong to this period.

There was much, too, in the period itself to call for the special discussion of this subject. The Napoleonic wars had unsettled all Europe. Extraordinary exertions and extraordinary expenditures were called for. England displaced a circulation consisting largely of coin, with a circulation consisting entirely of bank-notes. Austria, Prussia, Russia and other States issued more or less paper. The coin displaced by paper increased in other channels. It gathered in greater abundance in France, and enabled Napoleon to maintain coin payments throughout his struggle. His enemies, unwittingly, by forcing coin out of circulation at home through excessive issues of paper, sent it to France. For Storch shows that the coin displaced in England and other countries, did not leave Europe, but gathered in increased quantities in the countries adhering to a metallic currency. Large accessions, therefore, were made to the effective circulation of Europe, during the early part of the century. Prices rose, production was stimulated, and vast national debts were created.

With the return of peace, a return to the metallic standard, and, to a large extent, to a coin circulation, was undertaken.

Consequences wholly unforeseen ensued. The most far-seeing, apparently, were deceived. The difference between an increasing and a decreasing volume of money—between the depreciation and appreciation in value—was not understood by the most closely thinking economists. It was not till after the attempt had been made, that the baleful effects of a redistribution of the precious metals were discovered. Why should France, it might be asked, which maintained a metallic currency, suffer with those States which had departed from the metallic standard, and were endeavoring to return to it?

When paper in England was but two or three per cent. below par of gold, Ricardo even saw only a fall in prices of two or three per cent. He did not then see, as he afterwards saw, that a vast addition had been made to the effective currency of Europe, under the influence of which the entire volume of coin and paper together had become depreciated, and that to withdraw the paper necessarily operated, by reducing the whole volume, to increase the value of the part left.

No wonder it seemed strange that a return to peace should produce such consequences as were felt, not only in England, but throughout all Europe. Many, like Mr. Twells in his examination by the Commission appointed by Parliament to inquire into the state of affairs, "would not believe the natural effect of peace was distress." Discussion went on, both in and out of Parliament. The Bullion Report of 1810 grew out of it. Hundreds of pamphlets followed, some good, many of little worth. But, taken together, the rich literature of this period has been the source from which have sprung the later science of political economy, and the better philosophy of the functions of money. It was not, however, until subsequent writers had worked over the material of this fruitful period, and events had shed the light of experience on it, that errors became eradicated and the way prepared for a truer science of money.

The influence of the discussions and the literature of the earlier part of the century on economic questions, extended to this side of the Atlantic, which accounts for the fact that Americans, sixty years ago, had a better understanding of

financial and economic questions than twenty years ago, or than they have even now.

One needs only to refer to the Reports of the earlier Secretaries of the Treasury,—as Hamilton's, Gallatin's, Woolcott's, or the writings of Jefferson or the treatise of Conde Ragnet, for proof of this. Nor is an apology needed for saying that had there been at the head of the Treasury, during the late war, a man of the ability of Mr. Chase and at the same time one thoroughly versed in the literature, and completely acquainted with the experience of England from 1797 to 1821, at least a third part of the entire debt incurred for the war might have been avoided, without putting a man less in the field, or prolonging the war a day, or increasing in the least the difficulties of carrying it on; but, on the contrary, time and money would have been saved. And who can doubt, with the experience of both England and the United States before him, that it was possible to have avoided, in a large measure at least, the deplorable consequences of first needlessly inflating the currency volume and then the return to a gold standard, which we have experienced!

Among the questions profoundly discussed in the period referred to, were those relating to the regulation and value of money.

All sciences rest upon a few well-ascertained principles. And of no science is this more true than the science of political economy.

What the law of gravity is to physical science, the value element in money, or the principle upon which value depends, is to economic science.

Take first metallic money. The common idea, and one upon which whole treatises on money are built, is, that the precious metals possess a certain "intrinsic" value, and because of that value they are taken as the measure of other values,—that is, for money. The word "intrinsic," like the word "abnormal," may mean something or nothing. Usually "intrinsic," when applied to value in money, only misleads.

How do gold and silver get their "intrinsic" value? Or from what does their value arise? This question, when asked

of gold and silver, has the same significance, and no more, as when asked of copper or lead, or anything else. Whence arises value in copper? Nine out of ten, probably, will say it comes from cost of production.

But before discussing the cost-of-production theory, let us follow a step further the value element in money.

And for that purpose we may suppose all mines to be closed, and that we have only the stock now in the hands of man to deal with. The problem is then simplified to this: so much gold and so much silver in the world; such and such uses. These are the elements of the problem. The uses make the demand, and the relation of quantity to use determines value, as compared with other things. Gold and silver, then, have no other or "intrinsic" value, except that derived from the uses they are put to, and the measure of the value is the intensity of demand growing out of the relation of quantity to use. Instead, then, of having a metal, or two metals, possessing value independently of their employment as money, we have two metals, the chief use of which is for monetary purposes. And the chief value of these metals, instead of existing independently of their money character, is derived from their employment as money. Statistics show that about two-thirds of the value of silver is due to its use as money, and about one-third to other uses. That is, nearly two-thirds of the silver in the world is directed to monetary uses, and about one-third to use in the arts, as ornaments, etc.

Applying the same reasoning to gold, and accepting the most reliable estimates, we must conclude that from two-thirds to three-fourths of all the gold in the world, and of the production of the mines, is devoted to use as money, and not much more than a fourth part to other uses. Consequently, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the value of gold comes from its monetary application. Indeed, a closer analysis shows us how impossible, in the nature of things, it would be for gold to have the same value *independently* of its employment as money, that it has with that *additional* use. To say that it has, or that it can have, is to say that a foot can be expanded into a yard without lengthening the foot.

With this law of value in money firmly grasped, the next step logically follows: namely, the uses for gold or silver remaining the same, an increase in the quantity must result in a decrease in value, and *vice versa*: the quantity remaining the same, an increase in its use—making increased demand—must be followed by an increase in value.

Macleod generalizes this proposition when he says no variations "can take place in the exchangeable relations of any two economic quantities unless there is some change in the intensity of demand, or the limitation of supply, of one, or both of the two quantities."

Instead, then, of money possessing a "fixed" or "intrinsic" value, independently of the monetary use of the metal, it is the demand for monetary uses that gives to the metals the largest share of their value.

The question arises here, whether it is necessary that gold, for instance, should have any other use than that of money, in order that it may have value as money? The answer is plain; it is not at all necessary. To have uses besides that of money doubtless increases its value, and may tend to make its value more stable, or possibly it might tend at times to impart instability. However that may be, the principle is clear that the chief value of gold arises from its employment as money, and that so far as the law of value is concerned, it might have no other source of value without being any the less money or any the less fit for money.

It was long held, however, and is still held by men of eminent ability, but hardly by economists of standing, that the labor-cost of producing the metals from the mines determines, from year to year and age to age, the value of the metals. Mr. Silliman, for instance, in a recent paper, takes this view. This doctrine, though at one time accepted, was, however, long ago disproved. A brief analysis will suffice to show its error.

There are, perhaps, ten thousand tons of gold at this time in the hands of men applicable to monetary use. The production of gold this year, or on the average for many years, may be two hundred and fifty tons; or the annual production

may be taken as two and a-half per cent. of the whole stock on hand.

Now, the cost of producing this two hundred and fifty tons may vary from year to year. If the labor-cost of producing each year's supply determined the value of the whole mass, then we should necessarily have a fluctuation in the value of the whole metal, conforming to the variations constantly taking place in the labor-cost of production each year. But we have seen within thirty years a quantity of gold produced at half the present labor-cost of producing the same quantity; yet there was no material change in the general value of gold. If we were dealing only with yearly production, then the labor-cost principle would apply. There may be, and there probably is, both gold and silver in existence now, that was mined hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of years ago.

Pray tell us what the cost of digging silver with slaves, in the time of Themistocles from the mines of Laurium, or gold from the mountains of Thrace or from the sands of Hebras, has to do with the value of that metal now? The conclusion, however, is not to be drawn, that cost of production has *no* effect on value. The true law is this: To the extent that labor-cost affects the relation of quantity to use, to that extent it affects the value of the whole, but no further. This law, indeed, extends to all commodities. Those things that can be increased and decreased at will, and are not carried largely in stock, are almost directly controlled by the labor-cost principle.

Again, the notion so often asserted, that to measure values, a thing must itself possess value, is true enough, if by possessing value is meant that it must be an equivalent for that for which it exchanges. A wheel must be round to be a wheel. But it may be a wheel and be made of paper, as well as if made of iron; it may not be as good a wheel, but it is a wheel. Gold coin possesses value, and generally measures value, but its value is largely due, as has been shown, to the fact that it performs that function. Gold is not used as money *because* it can be used for something else too. Nor is it used for money *because* it is valuable. It is rather valuable because

it is everywhere used for money. Whately said, pearls are not valuable because men dive for them, but men dive for them because they are valuable. Gold is not valuable because it is dug from mines, but it is dug from mines because it is money, and therefore valuable. Commodities are transported from place to place by various agencies, chief among which in these days is the locomotive, which rushes along with its burden train borne upon hundreds of revolving wheels. The railway, the locomotive, the wheels of every car, are all agencies in the transportation of commodities. They derive their value as such from this use. The locomotive derives its value as a locomotive from the demand for it for that purpose, and not because the material of which it is made has some value for other purposes.

But the ownership of, or the right to, commodities is transferred not by ordinary vehicles but by the intervention of the vehicle, money. Adam Smith likened money to wheels, which was a very apt illustration. Money does certain work. It is an agent, to effect exchanges of commodities. There are a certain number of exchanges on the average to be effected, daily or yearly in a country. Money is the agency employed for that purpose. There is a given amount of money and a given number of exchanges. From this relation demand arises. The larger the volume of money the less there is for each unit to do, and the less the demand upon each unit the less the value of each.

But for a right understanding of the source of value in money, it is necessary to grasp firmly the idea that the value arises from the use itself, that is, from the work it performs. From this comes the important law: *The value of money is not determined by what it is made of, but by the relations of quantity to use.*

Prof. F. A. Walker has done good service to monetary science in clearing away the dead drift that has been allowed to gather over the living truth, in the following clear paragraph in his *Money, Trade and Industry*:

"Let me repeat, money is to be known by its doing a certain work. Money is not gold, though gold may be money; sometimes

gold is money and sometimes it is not. Money is no one thing, no group of many things having any material property in common. On the contrary, anything may be money; and any thing, in a given time and place, is money which then and there performs a certain function. Always and everywhere that which does the money-work is the money-thing."

Admitting as established, then, as we venture to hope it will be, that the value of gold and silver depends upon the quantity on the one hand, including the annual supply from the mines, and their uses on the other—not uses in the arts or as ornaments alone, but uses as money also—it follows that the value of these metals, so long as both are used as money, will depend upon supply keeping pace with increased use, growing out of larger use in the arts, especially for gold, and the increase of population and the commerce of the world.

If population and commerce, and the demand for the arts, increase faster than the mines yield the metals, then the value of the metals will rise; or, which is equivalent to it, prices in general will fall.

On the other hand, if the yield of the mines be greater than is sufficient to answer the requirements arising from the conditions above given, and make good the losses incident to wear and casualty, then prices will slowly rise, and money undergo diminution in its purchasing power.

For like reasons, if one of the metals, as silver, should be withdrawn from employment as money, the effect must necessarily be to enhance the value of the other metal, as well as of money generally, and correspondingly reduce the value of commodities. The difference between a diminishing volume of money and an increasing volume upon production and industry generally, was well stated by Hume a hundred and twenty-five years ago, and has been repeatedly confirmed by the experience of almost every country. As far as relates to metallic money, then, regulation rests upon the mines, and if left there we have a natural regulation of quantity and value;—not a regulation that gives ideal fixity to it as a standard, but which, nevertheless, affords a regulation that can be counted upon, and, with some approximation to certainty, be fore-calculated.

But it should be borne in mind, nevertheless, that it is competent for legislation to change all this; and legislation has, by the demonetization of silver in some countries and the closing of the mints against it in others, destroyed the natural regulation that had for a long time existed. What further disturbance may be looked for from legislative interference, cannot be foretold.

Thus far we have treated more specifically of metallic money, but as far as relates to the laws of value, the principles are the same for paper money as for metallic money.

Here, however, we are met with the declaration that something can not be created out of nothing; that it is absurd to say that the stamp, or the *fiat* of the government can impart value. A confusion of ideas always comes in at this point. Let the idea of money be separated for a moment from the idea of value. Waiving all constitutional questions, no one will deny the fact that a government can declare what shall be legal tender, and what shall be money within the territorial limits of that government. But can it impart to such money *value*? Certainly, if it can give it use. If making a thing money gives it use, by the same act it gives it value. But the *quantum* of value depends upon other conditions, over which governments have no direct control. If the Government of the United States should issue a thousand millions of greenbacks in addition to the volume of currency now in circulation, they will be money just as much as the existing greenbacks are—and *they are money*—but it would be out of the power of the Government to give to each dollar of the volume that would then exist the same value, that is, the same purchasing power, that a greenback dollar *now* has. On the contrary, it is absolutely certain that the whole volume of currency would thereby become depreciated.

We come back to the same general law, then, for paper money as for metallic money. Government by its stamp or decree, may make paper *money*, but its *value* will depend upon the relation of quantity to use. If the quantity be large and the use limited, then the value will be limited. On the other hand, if the quantity be duly limited, while the use is

coequal with metallic money, the value will be equal to, or may, by sufficiently limiting the quantity, be made greater than, that of coin. If, however, a decree making paper legal tender fails to put it into circulation, that is, fails to impart to it monetary use, then it will fail to impart to it the conditions out of which value arises. Ricardo says :

"The value of money, then, does not wholly depend upon its absolute quantity, but on its quantity relatively to the payments which it has to accomplish ; and the same effects would follow from either of two causes—from increasing the uses for money one-tenth—or from diminishing its quantity one-tenth ; for, in either case, its value would rise one-tenth."

Of course, this view is antagonized by that class of writers who stand upon the assumption that "the value of substitutes for coin is precisely in proportion to the credit of their maker." This is true of checks, demand notes, and other instruments of credit, and is measurably true of bank-notes. But it is not true at all of such paper money as greenbacks, or Bank of England notes under suspension, as from 1797 to 1821, or even Bank of England notes now, or of the paper money of Austria, Russia, or of such specie-paying countries as Sweden. Nor is it true of the "State Paper Money" of Germany.

No question of credit enters into the problem, except so far as concerns the *stability* of the government itself. Should the government fail, then the money might cease to be money, as it is not made of a material recognized as money, and is not itself money, outside of the State issuing it. This is a principle of such importance that space can not perhaps be better appropriated than to make room for the opinions of some of the most eminent economists who have written on this subject. Ricardo, in his celebrated reply to Bosanquet, says :

"Now, a paper circulation, not convertible into specie, differs in its effects in no respect from a metallic currency, with the law against exportations strictly executed. It is only necessary that its quantity should be regulated, according to the value of the metal which is declared to be the standard. * * * By limiting the quantity of coin, it can be raised to any conceivable value. * * * It is on this principle that paper money circulates."

"A bank-note is of no more intrinsic value than the piece of

paper on which it is made. It may be considered as a piece of money on which the seignorage is enormous, amounting to all its value; yet if the public is sufficiently protected against the too great increase of such notes, either by the indiscretion of the issuers, or by the practices of false coiners or forgers, they must, in the ordinary operations of trade, retain their value. While such money is kept within certain limits, any value may be given to it as currency."

In his *Proposal for an Economic and Secure Currency*, the same writer says:

"A well-regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce, that I should greatly regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility. The introduction of the precious metals for the purposes of money may with truth be considered as one of the most important steps towards the improvement of commerce and the arts of civilized life; but it is no less true, that with the advancement of knowledge and science, we discover that it would be another improvement to banish them again from the employment to which, during a less enlightened period, they had been so advantageously applied."

Mr. J. R. McCulloch, in commenting on these principles as laid down by Ricardo, says:

"He examined the circumstances which determine the value of money, * * * and he showed that * * * its value will depend on the extent to which it may be issued compared with the demand. This is a principle of great importance; for, it shows that intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that provided the supply of paper notes, declared to be a legal tender, be sufficiently limited, their value may be maintained on a par with the value of gold, or raised to any higher level. If, therefore, it were practicable to devise a plan for preserving the value of paper on a level with that of gold, without making it convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, the heavy expense of a metallic currency would be saved."

The same author, in his treatise on *Money*, builds upon the same principles:

"As no means," he says, "have been devised to limit the supply of promissory notes issued by private individuals, their value, it is plain, could not be maintained were the issuers to fall into discredit, or be relieved from their promise to pay them. But it is otherwise with the promissory notes issued by the State, or by a company acting under its control. The quantity of such notes may be effectually limited, and we have seen that, when this is the case, intrinsic worth is not necessary to a currency, and that, by properly regulating the supply of paper to be legal tender,

its value may be sustained on a par with gold, or any other commodity. It was by acting on this principle of limitation, that the value of the paper of the Bank of England was maintained in the interval between the passing of the restriction act in 1797, and the commencement of bullion payments in 1820. No rational explanation of this circumstance, so much at variance with all the old theories of paper money, can be deduced from any other principle. * * * It appears, therefore, that if there were perfect security that the power of issuing paper money would not be abused; that is, if there were perfect security for its being issued in such quantities, as to preserve its value relatively to the mass of circulating commodities nearly equal, the precious metals might be entirely dispensed with, not only as a circulating medium, but also as a standard to which to refer the value of paper."

Lord Overstone declared:

"The value of the paper currency results from its being kept at the same amount the metallic currency would have been."

Mr. Jevons agrees with this theory of paper money. He says, in his *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange*:

"There is plenty of evidence to prove that an inconvertible paper money, if carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value. Such was the case with the Bank of England notes for several years after the suspension of specie payments in 1797, and such is the case with the present notes of the Bank of France."

This principle was perfectly well understood by Gallatin, Wright, Woodford and other writers in this country half a century ago.

In truth, the *only* way to preserve the value of paper money is to recognize the law of value laid down in respect to metallic money as being alike applicable to paper money, and subject it to that law. In other words, it is only by due regulation of quantity that the value of paper money can be maintained, and upon such regulation, wherever paper money is used, depend the prices of commodities and the relation, at any given time, of property to debt.

Indeed, it is only as a promise to pay on demand operates to limit and regulate the quantity of paper, that it is effective to control the value of a paper currency, and to keep it at par with the metals. Nor is a promise to pay on demand, however well secured the ultimate fulfilment of the promise may be made, a regulator of quantity sufficiently effective to secure

in itself stability of value and the permanent equivalency of paper and coin. If, at a given time, the United States would have, as its distributive share of the world's supply of the precious metals—gold and silver—say \$800,000,000, then, on the principles here recognized, if a paper currency were limited strictly to a volume of \$800,000,000, and it had the same general acceptance within the limits of the United States that coin had, its value would be precisely the same, irrespectively of any promise to redeem. It should be provided, however, that the permanency of its character as money should be beyond doubt. Every possessor must be assured that he will be able, any time in the future, to pay it away for whatever he wants, or in the discharge of any obligation. Then its value rests upon, and is governed by, the same principles that control the value of any other money, namely, relation of quantity to use.

There can be no rational doubt that the two or three thousand millions of paper money in use in Europe and the United States has the same effect upon prices as so much gold and silver would have. And if every country should add to its volume of money as much paper as it possesses of gold and silver, then the effect throughout the world would be the same as though the stock of metallic money had been doubled. Prices throughout the world, other things being unchanged, would be doubled, and the economy which a nation might practise by using paper in part, while other nations used only the metals, would be neutralized.

The power of one country to affect the money of another, and thereby to change values, contracts and moneyed obligations, is far greater than has been generally supposed. When the United States issued greenbacks and sent its gold abroad, the gold went to swell the metallic currency of England, and of Europe generally. Prices felt the augmentation of money. Again, when Germany, France and the United States—the first to provide a gold coinage, and the others to prepare for resumption—took out of circulation hundreds of millions of gold, and locked it up in public coffers, the value of gold the world over was affected.

Should this policy be reversed and the four great public Treasuries, which now hold, perhaps, a thousand millions of dollars of the precious metals, let out one or two hundred millions, the results would be the same as though, within the same period, new mines yielding that amount had been discovered.

But the issue of the same amount of paper money by States now using coin would also have the same effect. The theory that, if but twenty-five or thirty per cent. of the amount of paper issued be kept in coin in the Treasury or bank vaults, then, no matter to what dimensions the money volume may be swollen, there can be no excess, and no depreciation of the paper, is both fallacious and dangerous.

The value and stability of a paper currency may depend much more on the quantity of paper out, than on the quantity of coin in the Treasury, and the most important character, as well as the highest ideal, of money, is stability of value; and stability of value, as we have endeavored to show, depends upon the due regulation of quantity and its adjustment to legitimate wants.

The discussion of the principles that should govern the issue of paper money, and of the methods employed by different countries for the regulation of State and bank paper, their merits and defects, must be left for another occasion.

A. J. WARNER.

ART. IV.—GOETHE AND BETTINA.

1. *Wahrheit und Dichtung.* Von J. W. VON GOETHE.
2 Bde. Stuttgart und Tübingen: 1840.
2. *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde.* 2 Bde.
Berlin: 1835.
3. *Gespräche mit Goethe.* Von JOHANN PETER ECKER-
MANN. 3 Bde. Leipzig: 1876.

IN the belief that coming events cast their shadows before, we turn with an eager interest to the early life of the great. We study the bright sayings and sportive ways of childhood that in their kaleidoscopic variety we may find the tint and texture of the fabric of the after-life. In the boy Napoleon assuming a dictatorial sway among his companions and awing his elders into submission by his daring precocity, we recognize the ruler of kings and the terror of Europe. So likewise we search with a hungry avidity through the dull little town on the Avon for some word or deed of the child, in which we may catch a glimmering of the dazzling genius that created Ariel and Hamlet. And as we stand in the shabby dwelling where he was born and lived, we inwardly implore the stones of the old worn pavement in the family-room to cry out and tell us the ways of the boy Shakespeare.

But if it is the world's regret that so little is known of Shakespeare's early life, it is also its grateful satisfaction that both history and tradition have been so kind regarding that of Goethe. As his own historian, he has described the youthful years at Frankfort with that simple directness and lively grace of narrative which constitute the chief charm of his style. In the varied, joyous life passed amid the refining influences of a cultured, plentiful home, and the mental stimulus

afforded by the contact and influence of minds distinguished in every profession and walk of life, are seen the unfolding of that rich nature and the complex activity of that wondrous intellect which, viewed in full maturity, affect the beholder not unlike—and it does not seem an ignoble comparison—one of those vast Oriental tapestries, wherein the marvel of daring design, together with the wealth of coloring, astonish and charm us as we contemplate the soft, glowing magnificence of the whole. In the eager zeal with which the boy explores the halls and towers of the old Teutonic city, and in the calm, wondering delight with which he lingers among its antiquities, we discover that love for the antique—that classic spirit which breathes a serene, lofty repose over the genius of Goethe. In the keen zest with which the child lays open the heart of flower and fruit, and the unflagging interest with which he watches the growth and change of living things, we find that spirit of inquiry and love for the investigation of nature which were ever his. There also we find that untiring patience and cheerful faith which, together with his deep insight into human nature, enabled the author of *Götz* and *Faust* to await the noble development of human character from the most untoward beginnings.

It was by the happy union of these seemingly antagonistic elements that so mighty a change was wrought upon German literature through the works of Goethe. Under the magic of his genius the cold marble forms of antiquity are aglow with life, and the chill glitter of a remote past is become as the warm radiance of noonday. The heroes and heroines, who in all their pomp of power and glory of achievement seemed, through the dim distance of the ages, as phantom beings apart from our humanity, are become real men and women whose hearts beat with hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, closely akin to our own. In *Iphigenie* we no longer behold a pallid chiselled divinity enduring her fate with stony submission, but a radiant, sensitive woman, whom a calm, noble spirit raises above the horrors of her situation. Amid the war and clamor, the strife and discord that made hideous the night of his time, the simple, noble nature of *Götz* arises like a lily

against a background of gore;—a knight, indeed, but devoid of the glamour in which the characters of a chivalrous age usually appear to us. Brave and true-hearted, he of the iron hand battles to save men from the evils that beset them and struggles to wrest his own soul from the thralldom of an evil time. As by Goethe's largeness of vision and true insight he found a human heart throbbing beneath the sculptured stone, and a warm, gentle spirit within the cold, clanking steel, so, also, he seized those vague dreams and fleeting fancies that haunt the deep recesses of the human mind, and embodied them in forms of such chaste, simple grandeur, that we bow in awe before the divine humanity which they reveal.

For the real lover of nature the common flowers of the wayside have, in their rank luxuriance, an interest of fact and sentiment of which the cultivated ornaments of the garden cannot boast. Goethe was a born naturalist; the small dull concerns of life were noble and full of interest to him, for he felt and told us that they are the main-springs of all great activity. Through his words, as under a spell, the homely trifles—the common things of every-day life—are invested with their proper significance. Herein lies the secret of his power over the hearts of the people, especially of women, whose life for the most part consists of a round of small duties; and to those whose higher powers seem stifled in a narrow bustling activity, and who long for the rise that would give them a freer scope, with what effect must come his words:

“ Wie das Gestirn,
Ohne Hast,
Aber ohne Rast,
Drehe sich jeder
Um die eigne Last.”

“ Like as a Star,
That maketh not haste,
That taketh not rest,
Be each one fulfilling
His God-given best.”

Goethe did much for women and he received much from them. The warm, yet delicate color of sentiment that pervades his works, though born of woman, was his by inheritance. Through all his writings is easily perceived the influence of those women who, he tells us, made an impress upon his character. The pure, placid nature of Gretchen; the thoughtful vivacity and touching naïveté of Frederica; the

deep spirituality of Fräulein Von Klettenburg, are there ; and the reproachful criticism caused by the doubtful moral tone that sometimes tinges his pages fades out in a wider and truer estimate before the splendid inspiration of the leading female characters of his works. We can readily believe his statement to Eckermann, that all the feelings and mental states described by him were the result of his own experience, for it was a feature of Goethe's many-sided nature that he could feel not only for, but with, others ; hence the startling truth, the wonderful minuteness with which he could alike portray the most frenzied passions and the finest, deepest feelings of which mankind is capable. The grief that he caused another, and which he himself deeply felt, Goethe could depict with a touch so firm and unerring, and in a style so vivid, that his most rapt admirers must feel a regretful pleasure that he could select for analysis the flowers which he had caused to bloom and fade in a human heart, and could expose to the world's gaze their delicate quivering filaments.

With all his many-sidedness of character, Goethe's power of musical comprehension was imperfect, or rather we might say *one-sided*. His ear was exquisitely attuned to the sounds of nature. In the low rippling of the brooklet, the loud roar of the cataract, the faint sighing of the breeze, the mad fury of the tempest, he found a melody and harmony which so touched his senses that they became, we might almost say, glorified. He could sing with taste and feeling—his voice was music itself ; but a musical composition unaccompanied with words was to him almost without meaning ; a symphony with its varying tone and movement told him nothing of nature and human feeling. He could find music in nature, but not nature in music. He held communion with music but did not possess its revelation.

It was not until after his powers were at their zenith and his genius was brought face to face with that of Beethoven, that he felt most keenly this deficiency of faculty ; and he hailed with joy a new star that arose in his mental heaven in the character of Bettina Brentano, the young gifted friend of Beethoven, who interpreted the great master to him, and

who is known as the "child" of the celebrated "correspondence." The remarkable intercourse between the "poetical artist" and the "child" was of a nature that could happen nowhere but in Germany, where "philosophy is half sister to romance, and romance appears half the time in the garb of philosophy."

Of a distinguished literary ancestry, Bettina was virtually born with an adoration for the great poet of nature and passion. Both her parents and her grandparents had been enthusiastic admirers and devoted friends of Goethe, so that from her earliest remembrance the child had heard the praises of the poet, and it was only left for his mother to complete the infatuation. Genial, gifted Frau Rath found in her little favorite an eager listener to her vivid, glowing account of her absent, renowned son, for whom her love was little short of idolatry; and as she possessed in a very marked degree that power of narration which in him was so inimitable, it is not surprising that her wonder-pictures wrought an effect upon the highly imaginative mind of Bettina; nor that the child's rapt fancy should eventually break forth into exuberances of expression which, aside from its rare literary merit, is exquisitely beautiful in the simple vernacular, but becomes almost wildly fantastic when conveyed into cold, exacting English. Upon her ardent temperament the name of Wolfgang Goethe acted as a spell of power to awaken her genius and to develop the sentiment of love, in a manner which seems so allied to passion that it is scarcely possible to read her burning expressions without a regret that Goethe could encourage her enthusiastic idolatry, and play upon her heart-strings to make him music.

The letters which Bettina wrote to Goethe, at Weimar, were highly valued by him. He praised them in unmeasured terms. The purity and freshness of her thoughts, and the childlike innocence of expression, in which the maiden of fifteen addressed him, were like the very breath of spring to the man of sixty-two, when he, in the full glory of his fame, was passing a splendid existence amid the stifling atmosphere of a brilliant court. These letters, too, were veritable "songs from home," for it was in the old home at Frankfort—in his

own childhood's place at his mother's knee—that Bettina received her inspiration.

But in all Goethe's intercourse with Bettina, there was a vein of selfish egotism on his part. The warm enthusiasm of her worship for him gratified his vanity. The fine thoughts and beautiful feelings with which her pen teemed, he used in his own writings. That such was his purpose, he makes due acknowledgment. His appreciation of them is best expressed in his own language to Bettina:

Du bist ein feines Kind, ich lese deine lieben Briefe mit innigem Vergnügen, und werde sie gewiss immer wieder lesen mit demselben Genuss. Dein Malen des Erlebten sammt aller innern Empfindung von Zärtlichkeit, und dem was Dir dein witziger Dämon eingiebt, sind wahre Originalskizzen, die auch neben den ernsteren Beschäftigungen ihr hohes Interesse nicht verläugnen, nimm es daher als eine herzliche Wahrheit auf wenn ich Dir danke. Bewahre mir dein Vertrauen und lasse es wo möglich noch zu nehmen. Du wirst mir immer sein und bleiben was Du bist. Mit was kann man Dir auch vergelten, als nur, dass man sich willig von allen deinen guten Gaben bereichern lässt. Wie viel Du meiner Mutter bist weisst Du selbst, ihre Briefe fließen in Lob und Liebe über. Fährst Du so fort den flüchtigen Momenten guten Glückes, liebliche Denkmale der Erinnerung zu widmen; ich stehe Dir nicht dafür, dass ich mir's anmaassen könnte solche geniale lebenvolle Entwürfe zur Ausführung zu benutzen, wenn sie dann nur auch so warm und wahr an's Herz sprechen.—*Briefwechsel*, I, p. 177.

Nur wenig Augenblicke vor meiner Abreise nach Carlsbad kommt dein lieber Brief aus dem Rheingau; auf jeder Seite so viel Herrliches und Wichtiges leuchtet mir entgegen, dass ich im voraus Beschlag lege auf jede prophetische Eingebung deiner Liebe; deine Briefe wandern

"Thou art a sweet minded child; I read thy dear letters with inward pleasure, and shall surely always read them again with the same enjoyment. Thy pictures of what has happened to thee, with all inward feelings of tenderness, and what thy witty demon inspires thee with, are real original sketches, which, in the midst of more serious occupations, cannot be denied their high interest; take it, therefore, as a hearty truth, when I thank thee for them. Preserve thy confidence in me, and let it, if possible, increase. Thou wilt always be, and remain to me, what thou now art. How can one requite thee, except by being willing to be enriched with all thy good gifts. Thou thyself knowest how much thou art to my mother, her letters overflow with praise and love. Continue to dedicate lovely monuments of remembrance to the fleeting moments of thy good fortune. I cannot promise thee, that I will not presume to work out themes so high-gifted and full of life, if they still speak as truly and warmly to the heart."

"Only a few moments before my departure for Carlsbad, thy dear letter came to me from the Rheingau; on each page appears so much that is splendid and weighty, that I beforehand lay an embargo upon every prophetic inspiration of thy love. Thy letters go with me,

mit mir, die ich wie eine buntgewirkte Schnur aufrössel, um den schönen Reichthum den sie enthalten, zu ordnen. Fahre fort, mit diesem lieblichen Irrlichtertanz mein beschauliches Leben zu ergötzen, und beziehende Abenteuer zu lenken;—es ist mir alles aus eigner Jugenderinnerung bekannt, wie die heimatliche Ferne, deren man sich deutlich bewusst fühlt, obschon man sie schon lange verlassen hat.

..... Adieu! Der Eichwald und die kühlen Bergschluchten, die meiner harren, sind der Stimmung nicht ungünstig, die Du so unwiderstehlich herauszulocken verstehst; auch predige deine Naturevangelien nur immer in der schönen Zuversicht, dass Du einen frommen Gläubigen an mir hast. *Ibid.* p. 229.

The exalted impulses of her mind and heart were refreshing to his nature, indurated by so many years of contact with the world. Again, he writes:

Du bist ein einziges Kind, dem ich mit Freuden jede Erheiterung, jeden lichten Blick in ein geistiges Leben verdanke, dessen ich ohne Dich vielleicht nie wieder genossen haben würde.—*Briefwechsel*, II, p. 166.

..... Alles was Du schreibst, ist mir eine Gesundheitsquelle, deren krystallne Tropfen mir Wohlbeyn geben, erhalte mir diese Erquickung, auf die ich meinen Verlass habe.—*Briefwechsel*, II, p. 166.

That the brilliant precocity of her intellect was the object of his admiring curiosity—something to be studied and analyzed rather than trained and nurtured—is evident from the following expressions:

Deine Weissagungen über Menschen und Dinge Vergangenheit und Zukunft sind mir lieb und nützlich, und ich verdiene auch dass Du mir das Beste gönnst.—*Briefwechsel*, II, 218.

.... im Gegentheil wenn ich Dir ein unverholnes Bekenntniss machen soll, so wünsch ich Deine Gedanken über Kunst überhaupt wie über die

which I unravel like a worked cord of many colors, to set in order the splendid wealth which they contain. Continue with this attractive fairy-light dance to rejoice my contemplative life, and to lead relative adventures: it is all familiar to me, through my own youthful recollections, as the distant home, which one feels distinctly enough, although it has been long left.

"* * * * Adieu! the oak forest and the cool valleys, which wait for me, are not unfavorable to the state of mind, which thou understandest so irresistibly how to call forth: preach also thy Nature-evangelies, always in the happy assurance, that thou hast a pious believer in me."

"You are an unparalleled child, whom I joyfully thank for every enjoyment, for every bright glance into a spiritual life, which, without you I should perhaps never again have experienced.

"* * * * All that you write is a spring of health to me, whose crystal drops impart to me a well-being. Continue to me this refreshment, upon which I place my dependence."

Your clear views upon men and things, upon past and future, are dear and useful, to me, and I deserve, too, that you grant me the best.

"* * * * I wish to have your thoughts on art in general, and particularly on music, committed to me. Your solitary hours you can

Musik mir zugewendet. In einsamen Stunden kannst Du nichts Bessers thun als deinen lieben Eigensinn nachhängen und ihn mir zu vertrauen.—*Brüfwechsel*, II, p.287.

Was Dir Schlosser über mich mitgetheilt hat, verleitet Dich zu sehr interessanten Excursionen aus dem Naturleben in das Gebiet der Kunst. Dass Musik mir ein noch räthselhafter Gegenstand schwieriger Untersuchung ist, läugne ich nicht . . . Da ich nun heute bis zum Amen Deiner reichen inhaltvollen Blätter gekommen bin, so möchte ich Dir schliesslich nur mit einem Wort den Genuss ausdrücken, der mir daraus erwächst und Dich bitten, das Du mir ja das Thema über Musik nicht fallen lässt, sondern vielmehr nach allen Seiten hin und auf alle Weise variirst. Und so sage ich Dir ein herzlichtes Lebewohl; bleibe mir gut, bis günstige Sterne uns zu einander führen. — *Brüfwechsel*, I, pp. 278, 279.

spend in no better way, than in meditating on your dear caprice, and to intrust me with it."

"What Schlosser imparted to you about me, induces you to highly interesting excursions out of Nature's field, into the domain of *art*. That music is *still* a mysterious subject, of difficult research to me, I do not deny. * * * As I have to-day reached the Amen of your rich substantial letter, I would fain express to you, in conclusion, in one word, the enjoyment which has grown out of it for me, and beg you, by no means, to let slip the theme upon music; but, on the contrary, to vary it in every possible way and manner. And so I bid you a hearty farewell: continue to love me, till happy stars bring us once more together."

All Goethe's letters to Bettina were short, and seem written with the intent to draw out her replies rather than to impart his own ideas, or to exert a helpful influence over her mental development. He gave but poorly of his substance in return for her rich gifts. It is hardly possible to read the correspondence without a feeling of sadness that a gifted, affectionate girl should lavish such a wealth of thought and feeling upon a man who, in the full maturity of his powers, sought merely to enrich his own being with the fresh outpourings of her nature. The regret is no less because this man was the great Goethe, but rather more, when we consider what he might have done for Bettina. To be sure, it was in his name that her genius was first awakened, and in her adoration she regarded him as the virtual creator of her being. In him seemed centred the springs of her existence. Every fine thought and noble impulse was but the emanation of his spirit that dwelt within her. All thought, all feeling were referred to him as their first source. Goethe encouraged this idolatry, and never once pointed above and beyond himself to something loftier

and more worthy of worship. It must be evident to all who read the correspondence, even in the simple undistorted German, that the pure fountain of her affections was darkened by his shadow, and that the consciousness of his presence, as it were, frequently incited her to thoughts and expressions foreign to her natural disposition. The profound thought, richness of imagery, and felicities of diction that abound in her writings, indicate a mind at once poetic and philosophic—similar to that of Goethe himself, while the incoherence of expression and the lack of method in the arrangement of her ideas evince a wilful untutored nature—faults of education which Goethe might easily have remedied, and thus secured to her a brilliant literary career. It was his satisfaction with her style of writing that endeared it to Bettina and caused her to cling to it ever afterward with loving tenacity.

The *Correspondence*, as published by Bettina, forms two small volumes, consisting mostly of her own letters; those of Goethe being comparatively few in number, and, almost without exception, very brief in comparison with her lengthy efforts. Some idea of the "child's" regard for the "poet" may be gathered from a letter written by her to him at the opening of their correspondence:

Wenn die Sonne am heissesten scheint, wird der blaue Himmel oft trübe; man fürchtet Sturm und Gewitter, beklemmende Luft drückt die Brust, aber endlich siegt die Sonne; ruhig und golden sinkt sie dem Abend in Schoos.

So war mir's, da ich Ihnen geschrieben hatte; ich war beklemmt, wie wenn ein Gewitter sich spüren lässt, und ward oft roth über den Gedanken, dass Sie es unrecht finden möchten, und endlich ward mein Misstrauen nur durch wenig Worte, aber so lieb gelöst. Wenn sie wüssten wie schnelle Fortschritte mein Zutrauen in demselben Augenblick machte, da ich erkannte, dass Sie es gern wollen!—Gütiger, freundlich gesinnter Mann! ich bin so unbewandert in Auslegung solcher köstlichen Worte, dass ich schwankte über ihren Sinn: die

"When the sun shines hottest, the blue sky is often clouded; we fear the storm and tempest, a sultry air oppresses the breast, but at last the sun conquers, and sinks tranquil and burnished in the lap of evening.

"Thus it was with me after writing to you; I was oppressed, as when a tempest gives warning of its approach, and I often blushed at the thought, that you would find it wrong; at last my mistrust was dispelled by words, which were few, but how dear! If you only knew, what quick progress my confidence made in the same moment, that I knew you were pleased with it!—Kind, friendly man! I am so unskilled in interpreting such delicious words, that I doubted their meaning; but your mother said, 'Don't be so stupid; let him have written what

Mutter aber sagte: sei nicht so dumm, er mag geschrieben haben, was er will, so heisst es. Du sollst ihm schreiben, so oft Du kannst und was Du willst.—Ach ich kann Ihnen nichts anders mittheilen, als blos, was in meinem Herzen vorgeht. O dürft ich, jetzt bei ihm sein, dacht' ich so glühend hell sollte meine Freudensonne ihm leuchten, wie sein Auge freundlich dem meinigen begegnet. Ja wohl herrlich! Ein Purpurhimmel mein Gemüth ein warmer Liebesthau meine Rede, die Seele müsste wie eine Braut aus ihrer Kammer treten, ohne Schleier und sich bekennen: o Herr, in Zukunft will ich Dich oft sehen und lang' am Tage, und oft soll ihn ein solcher Abend schliessen.

Ich gelobe es, dasjenige, was von der äusseren Welt unberührt in mir vorgeht, heimlich und gewissenhaft demjenigen darzulegen, der so gern Theil an mir nimmt, und dessen allumfassende Kraft den jungen Keimen meiner Brust Fülle befruchtender Nahrung verspricht.

Das Gemüth hat ohne Vertrauen ein hartes Loos; es wächst langsam und dürftig, wie eine heisse Pflanze zwischen Felsen; so bin ich,—so war ich bis heute,—und diese Herzensquelle, die nirgend wo ausströmen konnte, findet plötzlich den Weg an's Licht, und paradiesische Ufer im Balsamduft blühender Gefilde, begleiten ihren Weg.

O Goethe! — meine Sehnsucht, mein Gefühl sind Melodien, die sich ein Lied suchen, dem sie sich anschmiegen möchten. Darf ich mich anschmiegen?—dann sollen diese Melodien so hoch steigen, dass sie Ihre Lieder begleiten können.

Ihre Mutter schrieb wie von mir: dass ich keinen Anspruch an Antworten mache; dass ich keine Zeit rauben wolle, die Ewiges hervorbringen kann; so ist es aber nicht: meine Seele schreit, wie ein durstiges Kindchen; alle Zeiten, zukünftige und verflossene, möchte ich in mich trinken, und mein Gewissen

he will, the meaning is, you shall write to him as often as you can, and what you like! 'Oh, I can impart nothing to you but that alone, which takes place in my heart. Oh, methought, could I now be with him, my sun of joy should illumine him with as bright a glow, as the friendly look with which his eye met mine. Yes, splendid indeed! A purple sky my mind, a warm love-dew my words, the soul *must* come forth like a bride from her chamber, without veil, and avow herself. O! master: in future I will see thee long and often by day, and often shall it be closed by such an evening.

I promise, that that which passes within me, untouched by the outward world, shall be secretly and religiously offered to him, who so willingly takes interest in me, and whose all-embracing power, promises the fulness of fruitful nourishment to the young germs of my breast.

"Without trust, the mind's lot is a hard one; it grows slowly and needily, like a hot plant betwixt rocks; thus am I,—thus was I, till today; and the fountain of the heart, which could stream nowhere forth, finds suddenly a passage into light, and banks of balsam-breathing fields, blooming like paradise, accompany its course.

"Oh, Goethe! my longings, my feelings, are melodies, which seek a song to which they may adapt themselves. Dare I do so?—then shall these melodies ascend high enough to accompany your songs.

"Your mother wrote, as from me, that I laid no claim to an answer to my letters, and that I would not rob that time which could produce for eternity: but so it is not; my soul cries like a thirsty babe; all this time, past and future, I would drink into myself, and my conscience would make me but small reproach,

würde mir wenig Bedenken machen, wenn die Welt von nun an weniger von Ihnen zu erfahren bekäme, und ich mehr. Bedenken Sie indess, dass nur wenig Worte von Ihnen ein grösseres Maass von Freude ausfüllen werden, als ich von aller späteren Zeit erwarte.—*Briefwechsel*, I, pp. 120–122.

The following letters indicate the manner in which Bettina responded to Goethe's desire for her ideas on music and art. We give Bettina's own translation with all its crudities of conception to an English mind. No letter in all their correspondence, probably, shows so strikingly the overpowering influence of Goethe's commanding genius on Bettina's mind. We therefore quote the letter at length :

Ich habe eine kalte Nacht verwacht um meinen Gedanken nachzugehen, weil Du so freundlich alles zu wissen verlangst, ich hab doch nicht alles aufschreiben können weil diese Gedanken zu flüchtig sind. Ach ja Goethe, wenn ich alles aufschreiben wollte wie wunderbar würde das sein. Nimm vorlieb, ergänze Dir alles in meinem Sinn, in dem Du ja doch zu Hause bist. Du und kein anderer hat mich je gemahnt Dir meine Seele mitzuthemen, und ich möchte Dir nichts vorenthalten, darum möcht ich aus mir heraus ans Licht treten, weil Du allein mich erleuchtest....

Über Kunst. Ich hab sie nicht studirt, weiss nichts von ihrer Entstehung, ihrer Geschichte, ihrem Standpunkt. Wie sie einwirkt, wie die Menschen sie verstehen, das scheint mir unächte.

Die Kunst ist Heiligung der sinnlichen Natur, hiermit sag' ich alles was ich von ihr weiss. Was geliebt wird dass soll der Liebe dienen, der Geist ist das geliebte Kind Gottes, Gott erwählt ihn zum Dienst der sinnlichen Natur, das ist die Kunst. Offenbarung des Geistes in den Sinnen ist die Kunst. Was Du fühlst das wird Gedanke und was Du denkst, was Du zu erdenken strebst das wird sinnliches Gefühl.

if the world from this time forth should learn but little from you, and I more. Remember in the mean time, that only a few words from you fill up a greater measure of joy than I expect from all futurity."

"I have spent a cold night listening to my thoughts, because you in such a friendly manner ask to know all; yet I could not write all, these thoughts are too volatile. Ay! Goethe! should I write down all, how odd would that be! be contented with those, supply them in my mind, in which thou hast a home. You,—no other,—have ever reminded me to impart my soul to you, and I would withhold you nothing; therefore I would come forth to light out of myself, because you alone enlighten me.
* * *

"Art!—I have not studied it, I know nothing of its origin, of its history, its condition; how is its influence, how men understand it,—that seems unreal to me.

"Art is the hallowing, sensual nature, and that is all I know of it. What is beloved, shall serve to love: spirit is the beloved child of God,—chosen by God for the service of sensual nature, this is art. Intuition of spirit into the senses is art. What you feel becomes thought, and what you think, what you strive to invent, that becomes sensual feeling. What men compile in art, what they produce in it, how they

Was die Menschen in der Kunst zusammen tragen, was sie hervorbringen, wie sie sich durcharbeiten, was sie zu viel oder zu wenig thun, das möchte manchen Widerspruch erdulden, aber immer ist es ein Buchstabiren des göttlichen Es werde....

Ach was fragst Du nach der Kunst, ich kann Dir nichts genügendes sagen? frage nach der Liebe, die ist meine Kunst, in ihr soll ich darstellen, in ihr soll ich mich fassen und heiligen.

Ich fürchte mich vor Dir, ich fürchte mich vor dem Geist den Du in mir aufstehen heissest, weil ich ihn nicht aussprechen kann. Du sagst in Deinem Brief der ganze Mensch müsse aus sich heraustreten an's Licht; nie hat dies einfache untrügliche Gebot mir früher eingeleuchtet, jetzt aber wo Deine Weisheit mich an's Licht fordert, was hab ich da aufzuweisen als nur Verschuldungen gegen diesen inneren Menschen; siehe da! er war mißhandelt und unterdrückt. —Ist aber dieses Hervortreten des inneren Menschen an's Licht nicht die Kunst?—Dieser innere Mensch der an's Licht begehrt, dass ihm Gottes Finger die Zunge löse, das Gehör entbinde, alle Sinne wecke, dass er empfangen und ausbebe! —Und ist hier die Liebe nicht allein Meisterin und wir ihre Schüler in jedem Werke das wir durch ihre Inspiration vollbringen.

Kunstwerke sind zwar allein das was wir Kunst nennen, durch was wir die Kunst zu erkennen und zu genießen glauben. Aber so weit die Erzeugung Gottes in Herz und Geist, erhaben ist über die Begriffe und Mittheilungen die wir uns von ihm machen, über die Gesetze die von ihm unter uns im zeitlichen Leben gelten sollen, eben so erhaben ist die Kunst über das was die Menschen unter sich von ihr geltend machen. Wer sie zu verstehen wähnt der wird nicht mehr leisten, als was der Verstand beherrscht. Wessen Sinne aber ihrem Geist unterworfen sind, der hat die Offenbarung....

force their way through it, what they do more or less, that would be submitted to many contradictions, but yet is it even a spelling of the divine, 'Let it be.' * * *

" Ah, what do you ask about art; I can say nothing that shall satisfy you. Ask about love, this is my art; in it I am to perform, in it I shall recollect myself and rejoice.

" I am afraid of you; I am afraid of the spirit which you bid to arise within me, because I am not able to express it. In your letter you say: 'The whole internal spirit shall come forth to light out of itself.' Never before has this simple infallible command been obvious to me; and now, where your wisdom calls me forth to light, what have I to display as only faults against this internal genius; look there!—misused and oppressed it was. But this breaking forth to light of the mind, is it not art? This inner man asking for light, to have by the finger of God loosened his tongue, untied his hearing, awakened all senses to receive and to spend; and is love here not the only master, and we its disciples in every work which we form by its inspiration?

" Works of art, however, are those which alone we call art, through which we think to perceive and enjoy art. But as far as the producing of God in heart and mind overpowers the idea we make to ourselves of him, and his laws, which in temporal life are of value, even so does art overpower men's valuing of it. They who fancy to understand it will perform no more than what is ruled by understanding; but whose senses are submitted to its spirit, he has revelation. * * *

Die Vorrathskammer der Erfahrung hat Vortheile aufgespeichert, diese benützen zu können nach Bedürfniss ist Meisterschaft, sie auf den Schüler über zu tragen ist Belehrung; hat der Schüler alles erfasst und versteht er es anzuwenden so wird er losgesprochen; dies ist die Schule durch welche die Kunst sich fortpflanzt. Ein so Losgesprochener ist Einer dem alle Irrwege zwar offen stehn aber nicht der rechte. Aus der langgewohnten Herberge in die die Lehre der Erfahrung ihn eingepfergt hatte, entlassen, ist die Wüste des Irrthums seine Welt, aus der es nicht heraus zu treten vermag, jeder Weg den er ergreift ist ein einseitiger Pfad des Irrthums, des göttlichen Geistes baar, durch Vorurtheile verleitet, sucht er seine Kunstgriffe in Anwendung zu bringen, hat er sie alle an seinem Gegenstand durchgesetzt, so hat er ein Kunstwerk hervorgebracht. Mehr hat noch nie das Bestreben eines durch die Kunstschule gebildeten Künstlers erworben. Wer je zu etwas gekommen ist in der Kunst, der hat seiner Kunstgriffe vergessen, dessen Fracht von Erfahrungen hat Schiffbruch gelitten und die Verzweiflung hat ihm am rechten Ufer landen lassen. Was aus solcher gewaltsamen Epoche hervorgeht, ist zwar oft ergreifend aber nicht überzeugend, weil der Maasstab des Urtheils und des Begriffs immer nur jene Erfahrungen und Kunstgriffe sind die nicht passen, wo das Erzeugniss nicht durch sie vermittelt ist; dann auch: weil das Vorurtheil der errungenen Meisterschaft, nicht zulässt dass etwas sei was nicht in ihm begriffen ist; und so die Ahnung einer höheren Welt ihm verschlossen bleibt. Die Erfindung dieser Meisterschaft wird gerechtfertigt durch den Grundsatz: Es ist nichts Neues, alles ist vor der Imagination erfunden. Ihre Erzeugnisse theilen sich in den Missbrauch des Erfundenen, zu neuen Erfindungen, in das Scheinerfinden wo das

"To improve the advantages of experiences as they ought to be, is mastership; to transfer them on the scholar is teaching; has the scholar comprehended all and understands how to employ it, then he becomes absolved; this is the school by which art will be transplanted. To one in such a manner absolved all ways of error are open, but never the right one. Once released from the long frequented school in which system and experience had enclosed him, the labyrinth of errors becomes his world, from which he may never escape. Every way he will choose, is a misleading path of error; void of divine spirit, misled by prejudices, he tries to employ all his artificial craft to bring the object of his labor to a good issue. More will never be attained by the endeavors of an artist educated in the school of art. Whoever is come to something in art, did forget of his craftiness; his load of experiences became shipwrecked, and despair led him to land on the right shore. What from such a violent epoch will proceed, is indeed often captivating, but not convincing, because the scale of judgment and of perception is no other than those experiences, and artifices, which never suit where production will not be made up by means of them; then also, because the prejudices of an obtained mastership will not allow of anything to be, that depends not on its authority; and because the presentiment of a higher world will thus remain closed to it. The invention of this mastership is justified by the principle, that there is nothing new; that all is invented before imagination; such productions are partly an abuse of that which is invented, to new inventions, partly apparent inventions, where the work of art has not the thought within itself, but must make up for its want by the devices and experiences of the school of art; and finally productions, which go just as far as thought

Kunstwerk nicht den Gedanken in sich tragt, sondern seine Entbeh-
 rung durch die Kunstgriffe und
 Erfahrung der Kunstschule ver-
 mittelt sind, und in die Erzeugun-
 gen die so weit gehen als dem
 Gedanken durch Bildung erlaubt
 ist etwas zu fassen. Je kluger, je
 abwägender, je fehlerfreier, je siche-
 rer: je wohl verstandener von und
 für die Menge und diess nennen wir
 Kunstwerke.

In der Musik ist die Erzeugung
 selbst ein Wandeln der göttlichen
 Erkenntniss die in den Menschen
 hereinleuchtet ohne Gegenstand,
 und der Mensch selbst ist die Emp-
 fängniss.—In allem ist ein Verein
 der Liebe, ein Ineinanderfügen geis-
 tiger Kräfte.

Jede Erregung wird Sprache,
 Aufforderung an den Geist;—er
 antwortet: und dies ist Erfindung.
 —Dies also ist die geheime Grund-
 lage der Erfindung: das Vermögen
 des Geistes auf eine Frage zu an-
 worten, die nicht einen bestimmten
 Gegenstand zur Aufgabe hat, son-
 dern die vielleicht bewusste Tende-
 nz der Erzeugung ist.

Alle Regungen ist geistiger Ereig-
 nisse des Lebens nach aussen,
 haben einen solchen tief verborgen
 Grund; so wie der Lebens-
 athem sich in die Brust senkt um
 auf's neue Athem zu schöpfen, so
 senkt sich der erzeugende Geist in
 die Seele um auf's neue in die hö-
 here Region ewiger Schöpfungs-
 kraft aufzusteigen.

Die Seele athmet durch den Geist,
 der Geist athmet durch die Inspira-
 tion, und die ist das Athmen der
 Gottheit.

Das Aufathmen des göttlichen
 Geistes ist Schöpfen, Erzeugen; das
 Senken des göttlichen Athems ist
 Gebären und Ernähren des Geistes,
 —so erzeugt und gebärt und ernährt
 sich das Göttliche im Geist; so,
 durch den Geist in der Seele, so
 durch die Seele in dem Lieb, der
 Lieb ist die Kunst,—sie ist die
 sinnliche Natur in's Leben des
 Geistes erzeugt.

by improvement is allowed to com-
 prehend; the more prudently balanc-
 ing, the more faultless and secure;
 the more comprehensible, too, for
 the multitude; these we call works
 of art. * * *

"In music producing is itself a
 wandering of the divine idea, which
 enlightens the mind without object,
 and man himself is conception. In
 all is union of love, a joining of
 mental forces one in another.

"Excitement becomes language,
 a summons to the spirit; it answers,
 and this is invention. This also is
 the secret base of invention: the
 faculty of mind to answer a de-
 mand; which has no fixed object
 as problem, but is the perhaps un-
 conscious tendency of production.

"All motions of mental events in
 life have such a deep hidden basis:
 thus, as the breath of life sinks into
 the breast, to draw breath anew, so
 the procreating spirit sinks into the
 soul, again to ascend to the higher
 regions of eternal creative power.

"The soul breathes by spirit,
 spirit breathes by inspiration, and
 this is the breathing of the divinity.

"To inhale the divine spirit is to
 engenerate, to produce; to exhale
 the divine breath is to breed and
 nourish the mind; thus the divine
 engenerates, breeds, and nourishes
 itself in the spirit; thus through
 spirit in the soul, thus through
 the soul in the body. Body is art;
 art is the sensual nature, engen-
 dered into the life of spirit.

In der Künstlersprache heisst es; Es kann nichts neues erfunden werden, alles ist schon vorher da gewesen; ja! wir können auch nur im Menschen erfinden, ausser ihm giebt es nichts, denn da ist der Geist nicht, denn Gott selbst hat keine andere Herberge als den Geist des Menschen. Der Erfinder ist die Liebe. Da nur das Umfassen der Liebe das Dasein gründet, so liegt ausser diesem Umfassen kein Dasein, kein Erfundenes.—Das Erfinden ist nurein Gewahrwerden wie der Geist der Liebe in dem von ihr begründeten Dasein waltet.

Der Mensch kann nicht erfinden, sondern nur sich selbst empfinden, nur auffassen, erkennen was der Geist der Liebe zu ihm spricht, wie er sich in ihm nährt, und ihn durch sich belehrt.—Ausser diesem Gewahrwerden der göttlichen Liebe, in Sprache der Erkenntniss umsetzen: ist keine Erfindung.—*Briefwechsel*, II, pp. 289-298.

The following letter from Bettina on music is also interesting. In this instance, as heretofore, we give Bettina's English version, not, however, without feeling a strong temptation to tamper with it:

Ja das hat der Christian Schlosser gesagt: Du verstündest keine Musik, Du fürchtest Dich vor dem Tod, und habest keine Religion, was soll ich dazu sagen?—ich bin so dumm wie stumm, wenn ich so empfindlich gekränkt werde. Ach Goethe, wenn man kein Obdach hatte, das vor schlechtem Wetter schützt, so könnte einem der kalte, lieblose Wind schon was anhaben, aber so ich weiss Dich in Dir selber geborgen; die drei Räthsel aber sind mir eine Aufgabe. Ich möchte Dir nach allen Seiten hin Musik erklären, und fühl' doch selbst, dass sie übersinnlich ist, und von mir unverstanden; dennoch kann ich nicht weichen von diesem Unauflösbaren und bete zu ihm: nicht dass ich es begreifen möge; nein,

"In the style of art they say: nothing that is new is to be invented, all has existed before: Yes! we can but invent in mankind, nothing is without them, for spirit is not without man, for God himself has no other harbour but the spirit of man. The inventor is love; and because embracing love alone is the foundation of existence, therefore, beyond this embraced one, there is no being, no invention. Invention is only perceiving how the genius of love rules in the being founded by love.

"Man cannot invent, only feel himself; only conceive, learn, what the genius of love speaks to him; how it nourishes itself in him, and how it teaches him by itself. Without transforming this perception of divine love into the language of knowledge, there is no invention."

"Yes! Christian Schlosser said, that you understand nothing of music, that you fear death, and have no religion; what shall I say to this? I am as stupid as I am mute, when I am so sensibly hurt. Ah! Goethe, if one had no shelter, which could protect in bad weather, the cold, loveless wind might harm one; but I know you to be sheltered within yourself; but these three riddles are a problem to me. I would fain explain to you music in all its bearings, and yet I myself feel, that it is beyond sense, and not understood by me; nevertheless, I cannot retire from this indissoluble, and I pray to it; no, the inconceivable is ever—God; and there is no medium world, in which other secrets can be hidden. Since

das Unbegreifliche ist immer Gott, und es giebt keine Zwischenwelt, in der noch andere Geheimnisse begründet wären. Da Musik unbegreiflich ist, so ist sie gewiss Gott; dies muss ich sagen, und Du wirst mit Deinem Begriff von der Terz und der Quint mich auslachen! Nein, Du bist zu gut, du lachst nicht; und denn bist du auch zu weise; Du wirst wohl gerne Deine Studien und errungenen Begriffe aufgeben gegen ein solches, alles heiligende Geheimniss des göttlichen Geistes in der Musik. Was lohnte denn auch die Mühe der Forschung, wenn es nicht dies wäre! nach was können wir forschen, was bewegt uns, als nur das Göttliche!—und was können Dir andere, die Wohlstudirten, Besseres und Höheres darüber sagen;—und wenn einer dagegen was aufbringen wollte,—musste er sich nicht schämen? Wenn einer sagen wollte: Musik sei nur da, dass der Menscheng Geist sich darin ausbilde?—Nun ja! wir sollen uns in Gott bilden. Wenn einer sagt, sie sei nur Vermittlung zum Göttlichen, sie sei nicht Gott selbst! Nein, Ihr falschen Kehlen, Euer eitler Gesang ist nich göttlich durchdrungen. Ach, die Gottheit selbst lehrt uns den Buchstaben begreifen, damit wir gleich ihr, aus eignem Vermögen im Reich der Gottheit regieren lernen. Alles Lernen in der Kunst ist nur dazu, dass wir den Grund der Selbstständigkeit in uns legen, und dass es unser Errungenes bleibe. Einer sagte von Christus, dass er nichts von Musik gewusst habe; dagegen konnte ich nichts sagen; einmal weiss ich seinen Lebenslauf nicht genau, und dann was mir dabei einfiel, kann ich nur Dir sagen, obschon ich nicht weiss, was Du dazu sagen wirst. Christus sagt: "Auch Euer Leib soll verklart werden!" Ist nun Musik nicht die Erklärung der sinnlichen Natur?—Berührt Musik nicht unsere Sinne, dass sie sich eingeschmolzen fühlen in die Harmonie der Töne, die Du

music is inconceivable, so is it surely God; this I must say, and you will, with your notion of the 'terz' and the 'quint,' laugh at me! No! you are too good, you will not laugh; and then you are also too wise; you will surely willingly give up your studies and your conquered ideas, for such an all-hallowing mystery of the divine spirit in music. What could repay the pains of inquiry, if it were not this? After what could we inquire, which moves us, except the divine only? And what can others, the well-studied, say better or higher upon it;—and if one of them should bring something forward against it, must he not be ashamed? If one should say, 'music is there, only that the human spirit may perfect itself therein.' Well, yes! we should perfect ourselves in God! If one say, it is only the connecting link with the divine, but not God himself! No, ye false voices, your vain song is not divinely imbued! Ah! divinity itself teaches us to understand the signs, that like it, by our own power, we may learn to govern in the realm of divinity. All *learning* in art, is only that we may lay the foundation of self-dependence within us, and that it may remain our conquest. Some one has said of Christ, that he knew nothing of music; to this I could answer nothing; in the first place, I am not nearly enough acquainted with his course of life; and then what struck me at the time, I can only say to *you*, although I do not know what you may answer to it. Christ says: 'Your body also shall be glorified.' Is not music now the glorifying of sensual nature? Does not music so touch our senses, that we feel them melted into the harmony of the tones, which you choose to reckon by *terz* and *quint*? Only learn to understand! you will wonder so much the more at the inconceivable. The senses flow on the stream of inspiration, and that exalts them. All which spiritually lays claim on man, here goes over

mit Terz und Quint berechnen willst?—Lerne nur verstehen,—Du wirst um so mehr Dich wundern über das Unbegreifliche. Die Sinne fließen in den Strom der Begeisterung, und das erhöht sie. Alles was den Menschen geistigerweise anspricht, geht hier in die Sinne über; drum fühlt' er sich auch durch sie zu allem bewegt. Liebe und Freundschaft und kriegerischer Muth, und Sehnsucht nach der Gottheit—alles wallt im Blut; das Blut ist geheiligt; es entzündet den Leib, dass er mit dem Geist zusammen dasselbe wolle. Das ist die Wirkung der Musik auf die Sinne; das ist die Verklärung des Leibes; die Sinne von Christus waren eingeschmolzen in den göttlichen Geist; sie wollten mit ihm dasselbe; er sagt: "Was Ihr berührt mit dem Geist, wie mit den Sinnen, das sei göttlich, denn dann wird Euer Leib auch Geist." Siehst Du, das hab' ich ungefähr empfunden und gedacht da, man sagte, Christus habe nichts von Musik gewusst.—*Briefwechsel*, I, pp. 300–302.

Talent überzeugt, aber Genie überzeugt nicht; dem, dem es sich mittheilt, giebt es die Ahnung vom Ungemessenen, Unendlichen, während Talent eine genaue Grenze absteckt und so, weil es begriffen ist, auch behauptet wird.

Das Unendliche im Endlichen, das Genie in jeder Kunst ist Musik.—In sich selbst aber ist sie die Seele, indem sie zärtlich rührt; indem sie aber sich dieser Rührung bemächtigt, da ist sie Geist, der seine eigne Seele wärmt, nährt, trägt, wiedergehört; und darum vernehmen wir Musik, sonst würde das sinnliche Ohr sie nicht hören, sondern nur der Geist; und so ist jede Kunst der Leib der Musik, die die Seele jeder Kunst ist; und so ist Musik auch die Seele der Liebe, die auch in ihrem Wirken keine Rechenschaft giebt, denn sie ist das Berühren des Göttlichen mit dem Menschlichen, und auf

to the senses; therefore it is that through them he feels himself moved to all things. Love and friendship and warlike courage, and longing after the divinity, all boil in the blood; the blood is hallowed; it inflames the body, that it becomes of one instinct with the spirit. This is the effect of music on the senses, this is the glorifying of the body; the senses of Christ were dissolved in the divine spirit; they were of one instinct with him; he said: 'What ye touch with the spirit, as with the senses, must be divine, for then your body becomes also spirit.' Look! this I myself almost felt and thought, when it was said that Christ knew nothing about music."

"Talent strikes conviction, but genius does not convince; to whom it is imparted, it gives forebodings of the immeasurable and infinite, while talent sets certain limits, and so, because it is understood, is also maintained.

"The infinite in the finite,—genius in every art is music. In itself, it is the soul, when it touches tenderly, but when it masters this affection, then it is spirit which warms, nourishes, bears, and reproduces the own soul,—and, therefore, we perceive music; otherwise, the sensual ear would not hear it, but only the spiritual: and thus every art is the body of music, which is the soul of every art: and so is music, too, the soul of love, which also answers not for its working; for it is the contact of divine with human; and, once for all, the divine is the passion which consumes the human. Love expresses nothing through itself, but

jeden Fall ist das Göttliche die Leidenschaft die das Menschliche verzehrt. Liebe spricht nichts für sich aus, als dass sie in Harmonie versunken ist; Liebe ist flüssig, sie verfliegt in ihrem eignen Element; Harmonie ist ihr Element.—*Briefwechsel*, I, p. 181.

Ich wünsch' es Dir Goethe, und ich glaub' es auch fest, dass all' dein Forschen, deine Erkenntniss, und das was die Muse Dir lehrt und, endlich auch deine Liebe vereint deinem Geist einen verklärten Leib bilden, und dass der dem irdischen Leib nicht mehr unterworfen sein werde wenn er ihn ablegt, sondern schon ihm jenen geistigen Leib übergeströmt. Sterben muss Du nicht, sterben muss nur der dessen Geist den Ausweg nicht findet. Denken beflügelt den Geist, der beflügelte Geist stirbt nicht, er findet nicht zurück in den Tod.—*Briefwechsel*, II, p. 4.

Verzeihe mir, dass ich so mit Dir spreche, gleichsam ohne Basis, denn mir schwindelt, und ich deute kaum an, was ich sagen möchte und vergesse alles so leicht wieder; aber wenn ich in Dich das Zutrauen nicht haben sollte Dir zu bekennen, was sich mir aufdringt, wem sollte ich's sonst mittheilen! —*Briefwechsel*, I, p. 302.

The history of an experience—of the growth of a mind and the development of a character—is correctly the life of an individual. This is something that can seldom be written of any one. Bettina's life in such a sense is replete with interest; objectively, facts of her career are numerous and of a specially exceptional character. Filling, as she does, a larger space in the literary history of the nineteenth century than any other German woman, her singular career cannot but interest all who study that brilliant epoch in the literature of the Fatherland, which was outlined by the life and works of the great Goethe. Bettina was the sister of Clemens Brentano, a brilliant dramatist and novelist, whose plays still keep possession of the German stage; the daughter of General Brentano, who

that it is sunk in harmony. Love is fluid; it flows in its own element, and that element is harmony."

"I wish for you, Goethe, and I believe it firmly too, that all your inquiry, your knowledge, and that which the Muse teaches you, and lastly also thy love, may, united, form a glorified body for thy spirit, that it may no longer be subject to the earthly body, when it puts it off, but may already have passed over into that spiritual body. Die you must not, he only must die whose spirit does not find the outlet. Thought wings the spirit, the winged spirit does not die, it finds not back the way to death."

"Pardon me, that I thus speak with you, nearly without substantial ground, for I am giddy, and I scarcely perceive that which I would say, and forget all so easily again; but if I could not have confidence in you, to confess that which occurs to me, to whom should I impart it?"

died in the Prussian service, and of Maximiliane, daughter of Sophia de la Roche, a very talented German authoress, whose family circle at Ehrenbreitstein is so charmingly described by Goethe in his *Wahrheit und Dichtung*. Bettina inherited the imaginative powers and philosophic cast of mind which distinguished this gifted woman; but, as she did not receive a similarly rigorous mental training, romance and philosophy frequently burst their bounds and run riot in her mind.

Bettina's was not a character formed by study. She had no great fondness for books. But her mind was singularly reflective and keenly susceptible to impression. She had, withal, a deep, innate sense of the divine and the beautiful, and its revelation in nature and art was the subject of her early contemplation. It was this that bowed down her nature to worship Goethe. She grasped and analyzed with rare skill the spirit's manifestation in men and things, this strange natural aptitude being fostered by the fact that she was educated in peculiar freedom from the restraints which ordinarily invest a woman's life; for, as her parents died when she was very young, Bettina was left very much to her own guidance. She was indeed a veritable child of nature. Her being chafed under restraint. She so disregarded the conventionality and repressing formalism of her elevated social position that she was considered wild and eccentric; while her attractive presence and sparkling displays of intellect made her a favorite even with those who had little sympathy with her eccentricities of conduct and sentiment. In the daring and power with which she seeks the heights and depths of vital questions, and the facility with which she comprehends their bearings, we recognize the wild young creature who scaled the dizzy heights of the Rhinegau, penetrated the cavernous chambers of a mine, and found in a simple Rhine boatman an epitome of many climes and tongues.

From her earliest childhood Bettina associated with the greatest of Germany's great men and women: she was born in their midst. Her beauty, vivacity and evident genius gave her an assured position in literary circles of the most exclusive character. It is not strange, therefore, that her singularly

receptive mind should have found itself possessed of ideas and sentiments that struggled for expression before her intellect was sufficiently mature to grasp their entirety. She attacked questions that perplexed the gravest minds of her time; and, far from ridiculing the child's ineffectual attempts to solve them, we should rather wonder that she wrestled with them so well.

Her early marriage with the distinguished writer, Ludwig Achim von Arnim, widened still more her restless literary activity. Her home at Berlin was long the great attraction of that literary metropolis, while she was a privileged favorite of the Prussian King. Her marriage was a most happy one, but in the midst of her brilliant career she ceased not in her worship of Goethe; and when, on the death of the gifted Von Arnim, she retired to a comparatively quiet life, she exerted her energies to the laborious task of collecting and translating into a then unknown tongue her correspondence with the great man whose name first awakened her genius. Until her comparatively recent death (1848), Bettina was the precious link that bound the living to Goethe—the present to the past.

The glowing enthusiasm of Bettina's worship never faded away. The simple ardor and freshness of spirit which marked her first utterance to the great poet pervaded all that followed, and appear as a veritable inspiration in the lofty panegyric addressed to his departed spirit; while they are touchingly manifest in the zealous devotion to his memory,—even to the very hour of her death, nearly thirty years afterward. The "child" of the correspondence never ceased to be a child in the true sense of the word, and, viewed in her relation to Goethe, seems a blossom upon which the morning dew is still resting.

One by one the memorials of Goethe's life are passing away. The friends with whom he lived and conversed are gone. Of those who ever beheld the deep, penetrating fire of his glance, and heard the mellifluous tones of his voice, but few are still living. His works remain. They will be to his memory as a monument of imperishable adamant, whose many-sided, glittering proportions reflect every phase and shade of

human thought and feeling. It is through the written record of his life, as through an atmosphere of noonday clearness, that their full splendor flashes upon us. And when we are dazzled and bewildered by the exceeding brightness, we understand the rhapsodies of the lively, open-hearted child who felt so powerfully the effulgence of his genius.

To know Goethe's power of intellect and wealth of learning is not needful. Human nature was to him the prince of studies; and for every rank and condition in life, his wide sympathy found expression. The simple peasant of the Black Forest makes the dark solitude resound with songs that tell of his own humble joys, and the soft ditty which the Suabian maiden hums at her wheel, breathes the quiet, cheerful content that blesses the lot of those who toil and spin for rude fare and coarse raiment. Even the clear, wild plaint which the Rhine boatman flings out upon the evening air is Goethe's own prayer for those who day and night stem the sweeping current. All Germany says "Our Goethe," for in the mirror which he held up to nature, high and low alike catch their own reflection.

Whatever truth there may be in the old saying that "every true poet is the child of his time" was most forcibly exemplified in Goethe. Born in a period of general unrest, a period of reaction against the stiff formalism of the past, he quickly imbibed the discontent with the existing order of things which pervaded all classes, and entered with his whole might into that great struggle for freedom and light which for many years agitated Germany. Even in his childish vagaries we can catch a presentiment of that gloomy doubt and melancholy unrest, which afterward burst forth in *Werther*, with a wail that rang through all Europe. All his life long he was a powerful exponent of his time, and his works show forth not only his own nature, but that of the people for whom he wrote. His intellectual progress, his spiritual and moral history were theirs, and were a true index of the struggling tendencies of the age. His life was a constant, toilsome striving after excellence. To use his own words, he "struggled toughly" for truth. From the time when, amid the wild cry for light

which rent the air on every side, his eyes first opened to the day, until the hour when they closed in death, it was Goethe's earnest aim to find the light and to lead others to it. He suffered bitterly under the perplexities of the time, but he mastered them and entered into the light, drawing others with him. But his accurate vision discerned from afar the infinitude of the glory to which he had attained, and to increase the human capacity for receiving the quickening ray was his lofty endeavor. Calm, patient, unflinching, unrelenting, Goethe finished his course in the serene peace of an exalted spirituality, to the last mindful of them who looked to him as their leader. Even his final words in departing were a redoubled echo of those which had so long before greeted his new-born presence : *Licht, mehr licht.*

As the birth of Goethe marked a new era, and as his life shed light upon the dark places of thought, so in his death was old age glorified. The mellow splendor of that evening was a fitting close to a long, glorious day. The clear radiance of morning, the dazzling brightness of noonday, melted into a soft golden glory that long remained, and scarcely seemed a presage of fading light, but rather as the gentle glow of a new day eternal that had already begun to dawn.

The eventful career of Goethe was rounded with a fulness of years that reached far beyond the commonly allotted span. His unwearied activity continued to the very last. His mental faculties remained singularly clear and vigorous ; while the power of his august personality was heightened by the heavenly mildness and celestial peace which filled his being and rested like a benediction upon those in his presence.

Goethe's death was more like an apotheosis. The unusual assiduity with which he had for some years previous applied himself to the observation and study of natural phenomena, together with the valuable discoveries made by him, when near his eightieth year, in the metamorphosis of plants and also in the nature of light and vision, were a fitting prelude to the great physical change that awaited him, and to his own entrance into the realm of light. Indeed, his majestic utterance became marked by such force and depth of spiritual meaning,

that it seemed as if the wisdom of a nobler world were already revealing itself to him. With a slow majesty, unhesitating, un-resting, Goethe approached the end. It was near noon on a bright day in Spring, when he laid aside his pen and asked for the shutters to be opened that more light might enter. As the sunlight flooded the room, he quietly left his earthly garment and blissfully passed forth into the light and became one with it. *So stirbt ein Held: anbetungswoll!* (So dies a hero: sight to be worshipped.)

Goethe thought Schiller happy because he died young, in the full vigor of his days, that he could "figure him as a youth forever." The world deems Goethe thrice happy that he departed in the fulness of time, that he can be pictured forever as a seer whose sacred head is circled with an *aurola* of divine light.

It is a peculiarity of many-sided natures that they should be able to inspire the most contradictory opinions of their character, and this in proportion to the force and intensity of their talent or genius. Among the admirers and detractors of a great universal nature, it seems inevitable that there should be but comparatively few with vision and sentiment sufficiently broad and elevating to enable them to grasp its entirety and feel its multifarious workings. The judgment of each is shaped by his own peculiar mental bias, and tinged with his individual prejudices. One will not accept another's version of this or that thought; while scarcely any two can agree upon the inciting motive of a given action. This divergence of judgment is not unfrequently carried to a ridiculous extent. How much fruitless discussion has there been as to the religious belief of Shakespeare! Until the end of time it will probably afford material for acrimonious debate. Whether the tint of Hamlet's complexion was a dusky olive or the dazzling pink and white of the conch, may also excite disputation. As in the case of Shakespeare, the personal identity may be mooted, and to settle the question no means is too audacious or absurd. The sanctity of the tomb may be invaded or the spirit summoned from another world, if such a thing were possible, to give an account of itself. Even the dread anathema of the

departed against any who should disturb his bones, scarcely avails for their protection. It is a sad reflection upon the reverent appreciation due the great who have evolved such wonderful music from the simple gamut of human feeling, that their personality has no rights to be respected, and that their frailties are sure to be dragged forth and obtruded upon public notice.

Goethe was preëminently a many-sided man, and we can only imagine what the result would have been had he not lived long enough to answer his critics; to review in detail the wide range of his activity, and to reveal the true inwardness of his intellectual and spiritual development. The unique manner in which Goethe handled a subject would have been the despair of those who seek to elucidate a theme by bringing to bear upon it a great apparatus of philosophy and hypothesis. We can easily conceive what a confusion of tongues—what a separation into critical tribes—there would have been among those who endeavored to build a tower of refuge, a standard of literary criticism that was based upon his style, had he not lived to explain his method. "Time," says Goethe, "is a strange thing. It is a whimsical tyrant, which in every century has a different face for all that one says and does."* Goethe did not seize boldly upon a great subject, and by turning it this and that way produce brilliant surface effects; but he saw into his subject, as it were, and by a quiet development from its interior, he unfolded an outward form that was nature itself. Thus it is that a certain childlike purity of mind is requisite duly to appreciate the classic simplicity and enchanting grace of his creations. His method is no cunning artifice, no mystery to be unlocked, but the true, simple course which the intellect must take with nature to make her reveal her mysteries. His works are a richly provided banquet of which all who approach in the right spirit may partake, and to which they may bear witness as the great source of life from which they have drawn. His greatness astonishes anew at

* Und dann ist die Zeit ein wunderlich Ding. Sie ist ein Tyrann, der seine Launen hat, und der zu dem, was einer sagt und thut, in jedem Jahrhundert ein ander Gesicht macht.—*Gespräche*, III, p. 116.

every reading. He was a man of himself. So mightily does his genius loom above the ordinary mind, that it is only possible to retain a realizing sense of his greatness by a frequent renewal of impressions. Still, as in nature there is no isolation, and as everything is connected in some way with what is about it, so Goethe cannot be viewed aright, except in connection with his contemporaries and the time in which he lived. His nature seems phenomenal, yet it did not spring from nothing. He was a product of the age, which acted upon him, and upon which he in turn reacted. He took root in the antique and the best which had been done before him. He used the advantages of his time and owed much to his contemporaries and predecessors. But, generally speaking, his contemporaries did not harmonize with him any more than they did with each other. During the earlier years of that formative period strange things were seen; particularly in that known as the *Sturm und Drang* period, when there was on every side a wild impetuosity among men to break through a limited mannerism to nature and freedom, without any trace of a similar direction and a common interest. "They seem to me," said Goethe long afterward, "like billiard balls which run blindly by one another on the green cover without knowing anything of each other; and which, if they come in contact, only recede so much the farther from one another."* Goethe spoke of his antagonists as a race which would never become extinct:

"Their number," he said, "is legion; yet they may be in some degree classified. First, there are my antagonists from stupidity—those who do not understand me, and find fault with me without knowing me. This large company has wearied me much in the course of my life, yet they shall be forgiven, for they knew not what they did.

"The second large class is composed of those who envy me. These grudge me the fortune and dignified station I have attained

* Man sieht lauter gewissermassen bedeutende Menschen, aber keine Spur von gleicher Richtung und gemeinsamen Interesse, sondern jeder rund abgeschlossen für sich und seinen eigenen Weg gehend, ohne im geringsten an den Bestrebungen des Andern Theil zu nehmen. Sie sind mir vorgekommen wie die Billardkugeln, die auf der grünen Decke blind durch einander laufen ohne von einander zu wissen und die, sobald sie sich berühren, nur desto weiter auseinander fahren.—*Gespräche*, II, 343.

through my talents. They pluck at my fame, and would like to destroy me. If I was poor and miserable, they would assail me no more.

"There are many who have been my adversaries because they have failed themselves. In this class are many of fine talent, but they cannot forgive me for casting them into the shade. Fourthly, there are my antagonists from *reasons*. For, as I am a human being, and as such have human faults and weaknesses, my writings cannot be free from them. Yet as I was constantly bent on my own improvement and always striving to ennoble myself, I was in a state of constant progress, and it often happened that they blamed me for faults which I had long since left behind. * * * Another large class comprises those who are adversaries because they differ from me in their views and modes of thought. It is said of the leaves on a tree that you will scarcely find two perfectly alike, and thus, among a thousand men, you will scarcely find two who harmonize entirely in their views and ways of thinking. Allowing this, I ought less to wonder at having so many opponents than at having so many friends and adherents."*

Above all others, Goethe mastered the art of writing German; yet his style was so severely judged that, he said, had he listened to the criticisms on *Werther*, there would not have been a line of it left; and a well-meaning critic once told him that he ought to write like Schiller. To appreciate the

* Ihre Zahl ist Legion, doch ist es nicht unmöglich, sie einigermaßen zu classificiren. Zuerst nenne ich meine Gegner aus Dummheit; es sind solche, die mich nicht verstanden, und die mich tadelten, ohne mich zu kennen. Diese ansehnliche Masse hat mir in meinem Leben viele Langeweile gemacht; doch es soll ihnen verziehen sein, denn sie wussten nicht was sie thaten.

Eine zweite grosse Menge bilden sodann meine Neider. Diese Leute gönnen mir des Glück und die ehrenvolle Stellung nicht, die ich durch mein Talent mir erworben. Sie zerren an meinem Ruhm und hätten mich gerne vernichtet. Wäre ich unglücklich und elend, so würden sie aufhören.

Ferner kommt eine grosse Anzahl derer, die aus Mangel an eigenem Success meine Gegner geworden. Es sind begabte Talente darunter, allein sie können mir nicht verzeihen, dass ich sie verdunkelte!

Viertens nenne ich meine Gegner aus *Gründen*. Denn da ich ein Mensch bin und als solcher menschliche Fehler und Schwächen habe, so können auch meine Schriften davon nicht frei sein. Da es mir aber mit meiner Bildung ernst war ich an meiner Veredelung unablässig arbeitete, so war ich im beständigen Fortstreben begriffen, und es ereignete sich oft, dass sie mich wegen eines Fehlers tadelten, den ich längst abgelegt hatte. Eine fernere grosse Masse zeigt sich als meine Gegner aus abweichender Denkungsweise und verschiedenen Ansichten. Man sagt von den Blättern eines Baumes, das deren kaum zwei vollkommen gleich befunden werden, und so möchten sich auch unter tausend Menschen kaum zwei finden, die in ihrer Gesinnungs und Denkungsweise vollkommen harmoniren.

Setze ich dieses voraus, so sollte ich mich billig weniger darüber wundern, dass die Zahl meiner Widersacher so gross ist, als vielmehr darüber, dass ich noch so viele Freunde und Anhänger habe.—*Gespräche*, I, p. 43.

ridiculous absurdity of such an idea it would be only necessary to compare *Götz* and *The Robbers*, *Faust* and *Wallenstein*.

The naturally subjective tendency of their minds led the Germans to imagine that there was always some abstract thought, some occult meaning in the writings of Goethe. He was continually besieged with questions as to what idea he meant to embody in this or that production, and was often implored for the key to a mystery where no mystery existed. Goethe did not strive to embody the abstract. His mind received impressions just as a lively imagination presented them; and, as a poet, he rounded them off and elaborated them with an artistic completeness and finish that made their simplicity a marvel and puzzle to his deep-thinking countrymen. The hypothetical invention of the German mind seemed to reach a fantastic grotesqueness in the abstruse speculations and conjectures which greeted the appearance of Goethe's last work, the *Helena*, or second part of *Faust*. Goethe himself was amused at the far-fetched suppositions excited by certain imaginary problems in this work, particularly by the enigma thought to be contained in the words, *Die Mütter! Mütter! 's klingt so wunderbar!* (The mothers! mothers! Nay, it sounds so strange.)

Thus, then, we repeat, we can only imagine what the result would have been if Goethe had not lived to explain himself and to say of his productions: *Sie ist Bein von meinem Bein und Fleisch von meinem Fleisch*. (They are bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.)

In order to form an adequate estimate of Goethe's works, the changing course of his earthly career and of his mental condition should be most carefully studied, for his different productions are as different fruits of different epochs of his life. A wide field of vision is open to those who have the faculty of seeing more than is expressed, and what can only be read between the lines. The personal character of few men was ever assailed with a more virulent aspersion. His opponents made weapons of some facts which were, perhaps, with a passing show of reason, urged against him. But no one can read the touching account of his early attachment for

Lili, and its sad termination, without realizing how darkly such an event might shadow the life of a man who, possessing a deeply passionate nature together with a lofty ideal, was actually forced into the society of brilliant, gifted women, without feeling drawn toward any sufficiently to form a pure, lasting attachment. Even the most prejudiced might find some degree of palliation in the ring of true pathos that characterized the aged poet's *résumé* of his splendid career:

"A widespread celebrity, an elevated position in life are good things. * * * I have ever been esteemed one of Fortune's chiefest favorites; nor can I complain of the course my life has taken. Yet, truly, there has been nothing but toil and care; and, in my seventy-fifth year, I may say that I have never had a month of genuine comfort. * * * The claims upon my activity, both from within and without, were too numerous. My real happiness was my poetic meditation and production. But how was this disturbed, limited and hindered by my external position! Had I been able to live more in solitude I should have been happier and should have accomplished much more as a poet." "I have never been so near a happiness after my own heart as during the time of my love for Lili. * * * My affection for her had about it something so delicate, and something so peculiar, that even now in the representation of that painfully happy epoch, it has an influence upon my style. * * * She was the first whom I deeply and truly loved. I may also say she was the last, for all the little affections which I have felt in the after part of my life are, when compared with this first one, only light and superficial. * * * The obstacles which separated us were not really insurmountable, and yet she was lost to me." *

* Ein weit verbreiteter Name, eine hohe Stellung im Leben sind gute Dinge. Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders Begünstigten gepriesen; auch will ich mich nicht beklagen und den Sang meinem Lebens nicht schelten. Allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen, und ich kann wohl sagen, dass ich in meinen fünf und siebenzig Jahren keine vier Wochen eigentliches Behagen gehabt. Der Ansprüche an meine Thätigkeit, sowohl von Aussen als Innen, waren zu viele. Mein eigentliches Glück war mein politisches [*sic*] Sinnen und Schaffen. Allein wie sehr war dieses durch meine aussere Stellung gestört, beschränkt und gehindert. Hätte ich mich mehr von öffentlichen und geschäftlichen Wirken und Treiben zurückhalten und mehr in der Einsamkeit leben können, ich wäre glücklicher gewesen und würde als Dichter weit mehr gemacht haben.—*Gespräche*, I, p. 123. Ich bin meinem eigentlichen Glücke nie so nahe gewesen als in der Zeit jener Liebe zu Lili. Meine Neigung zu ihr hatte etwas so Delicates und etwas so Eigenthümliches, dass es jetzt in Darstellung jener schmerzlichglücklichen Epoche auf meinen Stil Einfluss gehabt hat. Sie war in der That die erste, die ich tief und wahrhaft liebte. Kann ich auch sagen, dass sie die letzte gewesen; denn alle kleinen Neigungen, die mich in der Folge meines Lebens berührten, waren, mit jener ersten verglichen, mir leicht und oberflächlich. Die Hindernisse, die uns auseinanderhielten, waren im Grunde nicht unübersteiglich—und doch ging sie mir verloren!—*Gespräche*, III, p. 207.

Goethe lived to see the rise of a new generation of men whose favorable disposition toward him was in agreeable contrast to that found among his contemporaries, and the unanimity of whose aims and tendencies augured well for the fulfilment of Goethe's favorite idea—the unity of Germany. Of an age when affection, enthusiasm and loyalty are rife, these young writers loved and revered the great man who had opened so wide and glorious a field for their national literature. Particularly among the younger of these, a youthful exuberance of feeling not unfrequently found vent in forms of expression that seem wild and extravagant to those who fail to regard them as the natural utterance of fresh, childlike natures, through the open avenues of whose being the splendor of Goethe's genius flashed with a power that filled their unprejudiced, appreciative minds with a delirium of joy.

Chief among these was Bettina. In the ardor of her devotion she represents those in whom Goethe found an earnest of the rich reward that the future was to yield him. She appeared before his nature had risen to the exalted spirituality of that calm which hallowed his later years, and while his noble idea of renunciation was yet struggling with the demands of worldly preferment. The energy, strength, and will which carried to magnificent completion his various projects naturally produced a pleasing consciousness of his own superiority; the adulation which a brilliant court lavished upon him fostered this consciousness until he regarded even the reverential attitude of his youthful devotees with a self-complacency which, to say the least, bordered upon a selfish egotism. Even his greatness was not superior to this weakness.

But his genius was their inspiration. The mellow splendor that made glorious the long evening of his life suffused them with its peace; and when he had passed from sight they could look into the still glowing heavens and say: *Untergehend sogar ist's immer dieselbige Sonne* (Still it continues the self-same sun e'en while it is sinking). They could find sublime consolation in the words he had uttered to them; "I am fully convinced," he said, "that our spirit is a being of a nature quite indestructible, and that its activity continues from eternity to

eternity. It is like the sun, which seems to set only to our earthly eyes, but which in reality, never sets, but shines on unceasingly.*

The world is constantly progressing. The aged pass away, the young grow old, and human affairs wear every fifty years a different aspect; but there was something in the friendship of Goethe and Bettina that can never grow old or pass away. We might call it an *Entelecheia*—a soul—a portion of eternity, which gifts with undying vigor that into which it enters. The light that fell from him upon her will never fade away. It has immortalized her youth and she will figure as a "child" forever. Had Goethe used the full power of his influence upon her genius, had he given her the fruit of his wonderful experience, would she ever have attained to a still higher career than that of a brilliant literary star at the Prussian capital? Would she have shone as one and the same light that illumined all Germany?

Goethe's words invoke silence: "Child! Child! Forbear! As if goaded by invisible spirits, the sun-steeds of time rush onward with the light car of our destiny; and nothing remains for us but bravely and composedly to hold fast the reins, and now to the right, now to the left, here from a rock, there from a precipice to avert the wheels. Whither is he going, who can tell? Does any consider whence he came?" †

Finally, we may observe that man is a benighted being. He knows not whence he comes nor whither he tends. It is only by renouncing, while enjoying, the pleasures of life, that he can rise above them and enter into the light. Even in the smallest enjoyments must be observed this principle of renunciation. Thus have we a conflict forced upon us by a necessity

* "Ich habe die feste Überzeugung, dass unser Geist ein Wesen ist ganz unzerstörbarer Natur; es ist ein fortwirkendes von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit. Es ist der Sonne ähnlich, die bloss unsern irdischen Augen unterzugehen scheint, die aber eigentlich nie untergeht, sondern unaufhörlich fortleuchtet."—*Gespräche*, I, p. 134.

† Kind! Kind! nicht weiter! Wie von unsichtbaren Geistern gepeitscht gehen die Sonnenpferde der Zeit mit unseres Schicksals leichtem Wagen durch, und uns bleibt nichts als, muthig gefasst, die Zügel fest zu halten und bald rechts, bald links, vom Steine hier, vom Sturze da, die Räder abzulenken. Wohin es geht, wer weisses? Erinnert er sich doch kaum, woher er kam?—*Egmont*.

of our moral nature, into which we are compelled to enter, whatever may be the odds against us. Nor do the great exemplars of the race form any exception to the law of this conflict. They are our models, and best illustrate and enforce in their lives—in their triumphs and defeats—the principle of renunciation. Such is the lesson which all sympathetic souls learn from the career of this great man, whose whole life was a grand exemplification of the doctrine of Renunciation, whose sympathetic genius is become immortal, and who, perhaps more than any other man for many centuries, comprehended the needs and perplexities of the struggling heart. Even where his name is not known his power is felt. To the great Goethe, then, if ever to any man, is due the title of Imperator.

CLARA WHITE.

ART. V.—THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.

THE passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and the execution of the law by Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, led directly to secession and its consequences. The Kansas-Nebraska bill was the most important which ever passed the Congress of the United States. Yet the American people to this day do not know, and cannot have known, who was its author, or what were the immediate objects to be accomplished by its passage. Stephen A. Douglas was, and still is, believed by the country to have been its author. It is a fact that he, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, reported it to the Senate, and was its able and active supporter and advocate. But Mr. Douglas was not its author.

That the people of today may know the importance of that bill, it is necessary that a brief sketch be given of the slavery question. The writer desires to say—and it is due to the reader—that he was in 1854 in a position to know many facts and incidents connected with this bill which were not accessible to the public, or even to the press of the country. He believes only one other person, perhaps two, to be now living, familiar with the origin and secret history of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. He may also add that he is familiar with, and has taken part in, the slavery agitation since 1819 and 1820, and that he was a slave-holder until the late war. As early as 1835 he was convinced that slavery was one of the greatest evils we had to contend with, and the greatest barrier to national prosperity. These views were obtained by observations made in extensive travels through the southern and western States. He, however, disapproved of the slavery agitation as conducted by Garrison and his coworkers. He believed that their course delayed the emancipation of the

slaves, so much desired by some of the most distinguished men, slave-owners, in Virginia, in 1831 and 1832, who were then endeavoring to devise some scheme for gradual emancipation.

At an early period in the history of our country it was foreseen that the question of slavery would be one of the most serious with which we would have to contend. This feeling was manifested in the convention which framed the Constitution. The South at that time did not desire the extension of slavery, and it is well known that she opposed the extension of the time at which the slave trade should cease. Virginia, then the largest slave State in the Union, in 1784 conveyed to the United States her immense domain, the North-West Territory, now composing five or six of the largest and most powerful and wealthy States in the Union. In the ordinance of cession she stipulated that slavery should never exist in that territory. This cession, with the circumstances under which it was made, has no parallel in the history of the world. It gave to the United States an empire from which, as Mr. Webster declared, the United States derived two hundred millions of dollars. She dedicated it forever to freedom, a noble deed on which her citizens may look back with pride; and if at any time Virginia, in the eyes of her sister States, has made mistakes or committed errors, she has, by virtue of her glorious past, a right to ask that they be blotted from memory, and that she be considered the peer of any State. She was the author of free-soilism in the United States. At the time she made this cession of territory and consecrated it forever to freedom, nearly all the States held slaves. When France ceded Louisiana to the United States it was expected that one State would soon be admitted into the Union with slavery; but it was then known that, in the future, out of that immense territory other States would be formed where slavery would not exist. In 1819 Missouri asked to be admitted into the Union, with slavery. She was a part of the Louisiana purchase. It was upon this petition of Missouri that parties arrayed themselves against each other on the slavery question. Up to that time there had been no disposition shown to inter-

fere with slavery in the States where it then existed. On the one hand, the North took the ground that slavery should not be extended over any portion of the territory belonging to the United States. On the other hand, the South held that the territory was the joint property of all the States, and that the people of all the States had equal rights and privileges in their occupancy; that property was entitled to protection, and that slaves were recognized by the Constitution as property, and as such could be rightfully and legally carried into any territory. The North, regarding slavery as an evil, contended that it was its duty to prevent its extension, believing it would be held responsible before the civilized world if it did not avail itself of every means to arrest the increase. These issues were plain and distinct, and upon them a most angry and exciting discussion in Congress, through the press, and among the people, ensued for nearly two years. No one then living can forget the excitement which existed throughout the whole country. Mr. Jefferson said in one of his letters that it was "like a fire bell in the night." The Union seemed to hang on a slender thread; a dark pall appeared to cover the country. Patriots trembled for its safety, and men calculated the value of the Union. But fortunately there was in the councils of the nation a patriot statesman, wise and fearless. He represented a slave-holding State. He came forward with the olive branch and offered the famous Missouri Compromise, under which Missouri was admitted as a State. By this compromise slavery was permitted south of 36° 30' north latitude, but forever excluded north of that line. This solution of the difficulty was accepted by all political parties; reluctantly accepted by the South, yet acquiesced in and acted upon by all. The country canonized the Compromise and all people held it sacred until 1854. The name of the author of that Compromise scarcely needs to be mentioned. It will ever be cherished by the American people. Henry Clay needs no monument to tell who he was, or the part he bore in that eventful period.

Peace was restored, a new lease of life and prosperity was given to the Union, and for years this state of quiet continued.

Yet, in the discussions which had preceded the Compromise, the seed of dissolution was sown which ripened for the harvest of secession in 1860 and 1861. Frequently after the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the slavery question was introduced into Congress and brought before the country by petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the annexation of Texas and the admission of new States. These never failed to cause angry and bitter feeling and had a tendency to weaken the ties which bound the States together. A very small party only exhibited any disposition to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed. But a great and rapidly increasing party had been formed in the non-slaveholding States for the avowed purpose of preventing its extension. Very many of the northern leading democrats adopted the principles of this new party. Among the most distinguished of these were ex-President Van Buren, the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, and the Hon. D. S. Dickinson, of New York. Mr. Dickinson, on the 1st of March, 1847, while opposing the Wilmot Proviso as an amendment to the loan for prosecuting the Mexican war, said in the Senate: "I will vote for a separate bill to exclude slavery from all the territory we now have, or may hereafter acquire, instructed or not instructed." He had been instructed by the Legislature of New York to vote for the Wilmot Proviso. The sweeping declaration on the part of Mr. Dickinson indicated public opinion in the free States, and especially in view of the fact that we expected to acquire California, a large portion of which lay south of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$; and, further, that a very large portion of the people of the United States were looking for a speedy acquisition of Cuba.

In 1848 the Free-Soil Convention met at Buffalo, New York, and nominated Mr. Van Buren for President, with Charles F. Adams for Vice-President. The convention was composed chiefly of democrats and took strong position against the extension of slavery. In 1852 the Democratic Convention convened in Baltimore, and it is a matter of history that the Virginia delegates offered the Presidency to Mr. Dickinson, who only five years before had made his free-soil declaration in

the Senate. It would thus appear that at that time Virginia did not consider the principle of free soil odious. It cannot be doubted that, had Mr. Dickinson consented to accept the nomination, the other southern States without exception would have followed the lead of Virginia. In that event he would have been elected, as was Mr. Pierce, and the United States would have had for President a free-soil man made President by the South. But had Mr. Dickinson been elected, it is reasonable to believe that a different condition of national affairs would have existed from that we witnessed a few years later.

The next great slavery agitation which occurred in Congress was in the session of 1849 and 1850, during the discussion of the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo between this country and Mexico. By this treaty the United States had acquired from Mexico an immense territory, a large portion of which was south of $36^{\circ} 30'$. No territorial government had been established and no enabling act had been passed. California had framed a constitution, elected United States senators and asked admission into the Union as a State. She had included within her State limits a great part of the territory south of the Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. The discussions growing out of the admission of California exceeded in bitterness any which the country had witnessed since the time of the adoption of the Missouri Compromise. When and how the feeling engendered by this discussion would have terminated it is difficult to predict, had not Mr. Clay, now near the close of life, again come forward with a second compromise. He feared that he would fail of success unless he could secure the active coöperation of an old political adversary, a man who for fifty years had filled a larger space in the public eye than any other person in the United States. This was Mr. Ritchie, the editor of the *Washington Union*, the organ of the Administration and of the democratic party. Mr. Clay sent his friend Mr. Simonton, now connected with the Associated Press, to Mr. Ritchie to learn if it would be agreeable for him, Mr. Clay, to call on him. Mr. Ritchie replied that under the circumstances it was proper that he should make the first call, and he did so, accompanied by Judge Bayley of

Virginia. Thus these two men, each great in the sphere in which he was called to act, were brought together after a long estrangement, and smoked the calumet of peace. It was their joint labor that then saved the country from the fearful disaster which threatened it from the violent agitation of the slavery question. Each loved the Union and each desired its perpetuity. Each was opposed to nullification and secession. Soon after securing the pacification of the country, Mr. Clay passed to the spirit-land, and in a brief space after, Mr. Ritchie received his last summons. God in His wisdom took them to Himself before the great disruption both so much feared and labored to avert had cursed the country they so loved.

The compromise measures of 1850 gave another lease of life and prosperity to the nation; but it was destined to be of short duration. In 1852, Mr. Pierce was triumphantly elected. He was supported by all sections, receiving a majority in all the States excepting four,—and was installed as President with every indication that a brighter day was dawning. The slave question was apparently settled, and peace and prosperity everywhere prevailed. No serious attempt had been made for thirty years to repeal the Missouri Compromise. The North considered it a sacred compact and the South was satisfied with it. No disposition was shown to disturb it. But this was the calm before the mighty storm which swept over the land, and in its progress carried everywhere devastation and woe. From its effects millions of men, women and children have mourned and still do mourn, in every part of our country. Fraternal blood flowed like the mountain torrent, the dead covered the fields like sheaves at harvest time, and the wounds of those who survived are yet but half healed. The wail of distress was everywhere heard, widows and orphans were in almost every house, and every home was draped in mourning. In the South, grief and want went hand in hand, and demoralization followed in the wake of all. Now, and in the years to come, the primary cause of all this may be asked. It is the purpose of this article to answer that question.

The people of Missouri had commenced the cultivation of hemp, a crop yielding large profits, but which it was believed

could not be successfully produced except by slave labor. That portion of Nebraska which is now Kansas was regarded as peculiarly adapted to the cultivation of the crop. A considerable number of the people of Missouri had long desired to occupy that section, to open it to slave labor and to the cultivation of hemp. It was known by the representatives of Missouri that for this reason the repeal of the Missouri Compromise would be popular with the people of that State.

Thomas H. Benton had served thirty years in the Senate, but had then been superseded. He had lost caste with a portion of the democratic party, after having been for many years its trusted and fearless leader. He never was popular with either of the extreme wings of the party, and was especially objectionable to the friends of Mr. Calhoun. He was too national to be popular with the nullifiers and secessionists of the South or the abolitionists of the North. He had been the strongest supporter of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, and many believed that he sympathized with that gentleman in 1848. After being defeated for the Senate he was elected to the House of Representatives, but he looked forward to a reelection to the Senate when the term of his late colleague, the Hon. D. P. Atchinson, should expire. He had been further alienated from the democratic party by his opposition to Mr. Polk's Administration during the Mexican war, and the bitter warfare which he waged against Secretary Marcy, Mr. Ritchie and other prominent men of the party. Mr. Polk had made an effort to conciliate him, and, against the protests of three members of his Cabinet, he appointed him Generalissimo of the armies in Mexico, to which office he was confirmed by the Senate. He was clothed with diplomatic powers. In one hand he was to hold the sword and in the other the olive branch. But just at the time he was to leave on his mission, a misunderstanding arose and he was not sent. Mr. Atchinson had been President of the Senate, was a native of Kentucky, and was very popular, especially in the South and with the friends of Mr. Calhoun. Mr. Benton and he had become bitter personal and political enemies. His term in the Senate was about to expire and Mr.

Benton was his most formidable competitor. The result of the contest was considered doubtful, and it was deemed by Mr. Atchinson's friends important to strengthen him in Missouri, and to weaken Mr. Benton.

How to do this was considered in "secret session." It is thought that only three, besides Mr. Atchison, knew in the early stages the programme marked out. Subsequently others were made acquainted with it. The originators of the plan fixed upon were Mr. Atchinson and three other able and distinguished southern senators, men of great influence in the whole country and especially influential in the South. Only one of these four men is now living, and it is due to him and to those now at rest to say that if they could have foreseen the consequences which would result from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, we believe no one of them would ever have been instrumental in causing it. Mr. Pierce had carried for his election all the States of the Union, save Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, and it was believed that the measure to repeal the Missouri Compromise could be carried and cause but little sensation in the country. This was a grave error. The primary object, therefore, which induced the initiation of the measure to repeal the Missouri Compromise was to secure the reelection of Mr. Atchinson to the Senate. The means to be employed was the repeal of the Compromise, in order that the people of Missouri might carry their slaves to Kansas and there raise hemp.

The author of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was not Mr. Douglas, but Mr. Atchinson.

Early in the session of 1854, Mr. Douglas, Chairman of the Committee on Territories, introduced a bill to establish a territorial government in Nebraska, then embracing the present States of Kansas, Nebraska and parts of Colorado, and the Territories of Wyoming and Dakota. No mention was made in it of Kansas. The bill, as originally introduced, differed but little from kindred bills which had been passed by Congress. Soon after the introduction of the bill Mr. Dixon, a whig senator from Kentucky, and a personal friend of Mr. Atchinson, gave notice in the Senate that when this bill

came up he would offer an amendment to repeal the Missouri Compromise. This was the first notice that such action was contemplated. The whole country was taken by surprise. There were then two democratic papers published in Washington: the *Union*, edited by O. P. Nicholson, the organ of Mr. Pierce's Administration, and the *Sentinel*, edited by the gifted B. Tucker. Each of these papers, when Mr. Dixon gave this notice, denounced it as a whig movement, intended to be a firebrand and having for its object the breaking down of the democratic party. The files of these papers will show the facts as here given. It is certain that neither of these editors was at the time in the secret.

Not long after the notice given by Mr. Dixon, Mr. Douglas moved in the Senate to have the Nebraska bill recommitted to the Committee, which was done. Again, a little later, he reported the Kansas-Nebraska bill for establishing two territorial governments. But before this was done he was made to believe it would be a very popular movement in the South and contribute largely to his nomination for the Presidency in 1856. It is doubtful whether he ever knew the real object to be attained by the repeal. The President was also consulted, and was impressed with the idea that if he made it an administration measure it would give him additional strength in the South, and greatly help him to a renomination in 1856. The President laid the subject before his Cabinet, then composed of Secretaries Marcy, Guthrie, Jefferson Davis, Campbell, Cushing, Dobbryn and McClelland, and all consented that it should be made an administration measure. Mr. Marcy, who consented reluctantly, was not very cordial in its support.

Undoubtedly President Pierce and Mr. Douglas both overestimated their influence in the North. They could not have foreseen that the whole country would become so excited as to jeopardize the Union. The debates which ensued in both Houses of Congress were long and very bitter. The entire slavery question was reopened. A caucus of southern democrats, composed of fifty or sixty members of both Houses, had been held, and after a good deal of opposition it was decided to support the bill. The South, therefore, with few exceptions,

supported it, being aided by a portion, and a portion only, of northern and western democrats. A very considerable number of the latter, and all the northern whigs, were found to be opposed to it. Very few of the northern or western democrats in either House who voted for the bill were reelected and only two of all its supporters are now in Congress. These are H. B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, and A. H. Stevens, of Georgia. The democratic party in the North received a blow from which it never recovered.

As indicating the sectional feeling aroused, we recall the fact that, during the discussion a serious difficulty arose between the late John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and F. B. Cutting, of New York, growing out of words spoken in debate. For nearly a week a duel was pending. A challenge had been sent and accepted. An intense excitement prevailed not in Washington only but throughout the country, and much sectional feeling was manifested in relation to it. Happily, wise and prudent men interfered and a meeting was prevented.

The bill finally passed, and the President appointed the various officers who were to govern the two Territories, and it may as well be mentioned here that the writer was one of them. In making these appointments, President Pierce was greatly embarrassed. The South, and especially Missouri, desired that he should appoint southern men only to the offices in Kansas, where it was believed that slavery might go, and northern men in Nebraska, where slavery never could go. At first the President was disposed to pursue that policy, but he afterward changed his views and appointed to each Territory about an equal number from each section. He selected for Governor of Kansas a northern, and for Governor of Nebraska a southern man. This course was not pleasing to the people of Missouri, and at an early period a very bitter state of feeling existed. This was occasioned partly by the lack of prudence displayed by the Governor, and partly by the determination of the people of the border counties to make Kansas a slave State.

Emigrant aid societies were soon formed in the North, and a struggle commenced to counteract the pro-slavery movement.

It was not difficult to see that in the end the anti-slavery party would succeed. In the early stages, Missouri had the advantage. She had but little aid from any southern State. Only one regular organization for colonizing Kansas existed in the South. That was in South Carolina and was headed by Mr. Buford. For three years the country was kept in a state of excitement. In Kansas every man went fully armed. Frequent murders took place and house-burning was practised by both parties. At one time several thousand men fully armed and under military command confronted each other, and a regular battle was daily expected. No one not present could form any idea of the extent to which anarchy prevailed. Four different governors had been appointed, all northern men, democrats, and each had been quickly deposed. The United States troops had been employed and yet no peace or quiet could be had. At last it was thought that by calling a convention, framing a constitution and asking to be admitted as a State into the Union—although the population did not justify it—the vexed question might be settled. The attempt was made. The pro-slavery party obtained a majority of the convention and framed what was known as the Lecompton Constitution. It was pro-slavery. Had that constitution been properly submitted to the people, it was contended that it would have been rejected. Indeed there is little doubt but that it would have been. Unfortunately, the convention adopted it without giving the people who were to live under it an opportunity to say whether or not it was acceptable to them. This was a fatal error, and, as might have been foreseen, increased and intensified the excitement.

Such was the status of the Kansas question when Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated, March 4, 1857. Mr. Buchanan received the nomination over Mr. Pierce and Mr. Douglas. He owed his nomination and election to the fact that he was out of the country at the time the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, and that he had taken no part in it. At Cincinnati, in 1856, it was the settled purpose of the Convention not to trust to the election of any candidate who had been active in the support of this bill. Hence the defeat of Mr. Pierce and Mr.

Douglas, and the nomination of Mr. Buchanan. In the election, Mr. Buchanan was able to carry only five northern States, while four years previous Mr. Pierce had carried all but two. This proved an extraordinary and unprecedented change in public opinion, and must be attributed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. When Mr. Buchanan came to the Presidency, all attention was turned to him, and from his long experience, his prudence, moderation and wisdom much was expected.

Governors Reeder, Thomson and Geary, who had been appointed by President Pierce, had each failed to give peace and quiet to Kansas. No security to life or property existed in the Territory. Mr. Buchanan immediately appointed as Governor, R. J. Walker, a man of national reputation, who had with marked ability filled many high and important positions. With Mr. Walker was associated another gentleman well known to the country, an ex-member of Congress from Tennessee, Mr. F. P. Stanton. These gentlemen did not desire to accept the positions assigned them, and consented only after the strongest appeals to their patriotism had been made by Mr. Buchanan and others. Having been clothed with plenary powers, they proceeded on their mission of peace. It was distinctly understood that they were to use all proper influences to have the Lecompton Constitution submitted to the people. While they were actively engaged in this effort, and with every prospect of being successful, they received notice that the President had changed his Kansas policy, and that he desired the constitution to be sustained as it came from the hands of the framers. This change of policy on the part of Mr. Buchanan was one of the most extraordinary, unfortunate, and, so far as the public knows, most unaccountable ever made by any public man. While he was supported in this policy by a portion of the South, it alienated from him thousands and tens of thousands of friends who had, up to that time, warmly sustained him. He never recovered from that act.

Soon after this change of policy, Governor Walker was recalled, and anarchy again held high carnival in Kansas. Four governors had now failed, and a bold, an able and a

prudent man was required to act the part of Moses; one, too, who was a man of unflinching courage. Fortunately such a man was found in the Hon. James W. Denver, an ex-member of Congress from California, a distinguished and gallant veteran of the Mexican war,—a noble man and a statesman, now a resident of Washington, loved and respected by all who know him. Mr. Buchanan appointed him Governor. To him the country owed the pacification of Kansas, and the crisis for the time was satisfactorily passed.

Soon after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, another and a still more dangerous doctrine, growing out of the repeal, came up, convulsed the country, and resulted in secession. This was whether Congress or the people of a Territory, possessed the right to admit or prohibit slavery in any territory of the United States. The republicans contended that Congress alone held that power, while Mr. Douglas and his friends asserted that it belonged solely to the Territorial Legislature. In other words, Mr. Douglas and his friends claimed that the creatures of Congress could do what Congress itself could not do. The South contended that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature possessed the right, but the people alone, in forming a constitution and organizing a State, possessed it. On these issues the Presidential canvass in 1860 was conducted. The result was that the republicans carried every northern and western State. All that followed is too painfully impressed on the mind and memory of the people now living to require repetition here.

This sketch has been written at the request of friends and to supply a missing link in the history of the past. It has been written in no sectional spirit, neither to wound the feelings of any now living nor to disturb the ashes of the dead. The writer has outlived all bitterness and unkind feeling towards any party or person on earth.

From these facts, as herein given, the following conclusions are warranted:

First.—That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was not called for by the South at the time it was repealed, the bill being offered by a northern man who was its ostensible author.

Second.—That the primary object of the repeal was to politically strengthen one man and to weaken another.

Third.—That the South contended for a principle which, had it been established, would have been of no political benefit to it or to the cause of slavery: 1. Because slavery could never have been established north of $36^{\circ} 30'$; 2. Because there was open to slavery south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama, unoccupied lands sufficient to employ all the slaves in the United States, and their increase for at least one hundred years to come.

To establish the Union and to preserve it to this time has cost in lives and treasure an amount which can not be estimated. To continue to preserve it will require wisdom, justice, prudence, patriotism, and, above all, a kind and catholic spirit. Let these virtues be cultivated, let the errors of the past be forgiven and, as far as possible, forgotten. Let us have such a Union as its founders intended it should be. Then all of us in all sections can say of it, *Esto perpetua!*

JOHN A. PARKER.

ART. VI.—THE SCIENCE OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. *Annual Report of the National Board of Health for 1879.* Washington, D. C.
2. *Reports and Papers of the American Public Health Association for 1877-1878.* Vol. IV. Cambridge.

THE movement in behalf of the public health, which has taken on such broad proportions in modern times, had, like all important movements, a small beginning. The development of physiology and its allied sciences awakened the individual to a sense of personal responsibility for the ills he suffered, and led him to reflect on the means and methods within his control by which he could rid himself of them. It was discovered that health had its own laws, no less than disease; and the conclusion suddenly—and prematurely—dawned upon him, that if one lived in accordance with the laws of one's being, one need never be sick. This doctrine, so practically false and theoretically true, became a favorite maxim in the common parlance of the day, and was seized upon by a set of half-educated fanatics and preached to a gullible public, with endless changes in diet, bathing, fresh air exercise and sunlight, *ad nauseam*, apparently quite oblivious of the fact that the individual can no more escape the influences which beset him, or violate the laws of his environment, than he could avoid being poisoned in an atmosphere freighted with infection, or feeling cold in a temperature below zero.

The subjective position of the individual in the body politic becomes self-evident on a moment's reflection. His environment is not only in the control of the public, but is made by the public. It is for the public to say whether he shall have pure water or foul water to use, and

in what quantities; whether his food shall be pure or adulterated; whether his house and the highways shall be drained, and the air he breathes preserved in its native sweetness and simplicity, or otherwise; whether he shall be housed, by the cupidity of landlords, in overcrowded tenements, or have roomy, well-lighted and well-aired places to dwell in; whether he shall be protected from contagion without and infection within,—the poison-breeding fumes of manufacturing establishments, or the morbid causes engendered by contiguous cities; whether, indeed, he shall be protected from all noisome influences under the control of the public authorities. The greed of men has reached such proportions as to make it incumbent on the public to assume supervision of all the industries of civilized society. Short weight and defective measurements, spurious coin and counterfeit bank-notes, shoddy clothing and adulteration of food and medicines, are constantly met with on every hand; so that it has become a public necessity to have a board or commission appointed in every community with supervisory powers over every department of industry which affects the public weal or the individual welfare. This necessity has been appreciated in respect to many departments of trade, such as finance, for example, which affect the pecuniary interests of mankind; but the most important part of all, the sanitary condition of the public, has received the least attention, and it is just beginning to dawn upon our benighted sensibilities that the supervision of sanitary causes and influences, and the protecting the individual against the engendering and propagation of morbid causes, are as much a part of the function of government as is the protection of the political liberties of the citizen from either foreign or domestic enemies. The science of public health receives its sanction from this broad principle of government polity, and comprehends the application of sanitary science to the body politic.

It is interesting to observe that the movement in behalf of the public health was not, at the outset, inspired by any benevolent or philanthropic spirit toward the poor wretches who live in filth, feed on refuse, and imbibe death at every breath,

in the slums of the great cities, the overcrowded tenements, mines, workshops and counting-rooms of civilized countries. It seems to have been the outcome of self-interest, in a pecuniary sense. The life-insurance companies of England, half a century ago, were moved to investigate in their own interest the subject of mortality in towns—with the view of modifying their losses by lessening the death-rate among policy-holders—in the same way, and for the same reason, that fire insurance companies interest themselves in an efficient fire-department service. The result certainly justified the means, meagre and defective as they were, that were instituted to improve the public health and reduce the high death-rate, as may be seen in Chadwick's *Report on the Health of Towns*, published in London, in 1844. The decrease of the annual mortality which followed this inquiry was so remarkable as to excite surprise. Equally surprising was it that the subject had been neglected so long. But nothing was more natural. It has been the custom from time immemorial, to intrust matters relating to life and health to a Providence with a big *P*. It was a mistaken policy, of course, as the experience with plagues and pestilence has proved—providence with a small *p* having happily been found far more trustworthy in all such matters.

It may be still further observed that executives, as a general rule, have not been much in the habit of condescending to the sphere of matters which concern the physiques of mankind, looking rather away and abroad, over the frontiers, in the direction of "natural enemies," and bearing the sword at home to coerce and punish domestic transgressors. Politics have been regarded paramount to physical sanity; treason to disease. But science, with its many rays of light, is doing its inevitable work, however slowly, and men are becoming dissatisfied with the old fatalisms which left matters of health and sickness very much to the care of providence, after the manner of those Oriental traditions which have so largely influenced the social philosophy of our times. It is now thought that "our vile bodies" are worth treating with an enlightened respect; especially as they are found to be, after all, more intimately connected than people have hitherto supposed with

the more dignified elements or accidents of our being—the intellectual and the moral. Until very recently the knowledge and administration of the laws of health were in the keeping of a distinctive class of men, who, like their brethren of the religious order in the twilight ages, assumed an especial right to deal with the infirmities of our race. But, in the one case as well as in the other, the old reliances are losing ground, and men in general have resolved to understand and care for their own sanitary condition, and do what they can to remedy their own ailments of whatever sort. For this purpose, they are controlling their governments—which were never yet found in the van of human progress, though this would be the most reasonable and worthy place for them; and these last now find themselves bound to act in accordance with the rights and requirements of the people.

The obligations of government as regards national health have been already recognized in France, Germany, and England. In our great sister republic, a decree of the 9th of October, 1879, has ordained that a Consulting Commission of Public Hygiene, under the control of the Ministries of Agriculture and Commerce, shall have cognizance of all questions respecting quarantine; the prevention of epidemics; the propagation of vaccine; the preparation of mineral waters, especially for the benefit of the poor; the qualifications of medical practitioners; the organization of health societies and commissions; a pharmaceutical police, and the sanitary condition of workshops. Under this decree the Consulting Council of Public Hygiene is composed of twenty members; including the Director of Consulates and Commerce; the President of the Council of Military Hygiene; the President of the Council of Naval Hygiene; the Directors of Charities and Internal Trade; the Inspectors of Sanitary Service and Veterinary Schools, and the Inspector of Architecture belonging to the Ministry of Agriculture. With these are associated eight physicians. By another article of the decree the Council has the right to advise the directors of other governing departments. It meets once a week; its members are paid a certain sum for each session; and the secretary

has a fixed salary. The French precision, so proverbial in matters of organization, is very notable in the new sanitary arrangement.

The Imperial Health Board of Germany was established at the close of 1875. Its purposes are to gather sanitary information and give counsel to the Government and to the health societies of the empire—as set forth in the Report of the Grand Chancellor, issued in 1876. Its main object is to elevate the care of the people's health to the dignity of a science; and that, certainly, is the noblest of all the imperial pretensions. The Board makes investigations concerning the causes, preventions and remedies of diseases, and collects and publishes the vital statistics of North-Germany.

Having merely glanced at the great work of a great people, we turn to the more familiar ground of England, where Parliament, immediately influenced by the British Medical Association, passed, in 1858, a registration law which greatly improved the material of the army, the navy and the Poor Law medical service. It also established boards independent of medical teachers, to grant diplomas. By its Acts of 1861, 1867 and 1871, it has made vaccination compulsory. But its chief steps in a sanitary direction were made in six Public Health Acts enacted between 1850 and 1875, establishing a system of public hygiene, under which Great Britain is now divided into about fifteen thousand sanitary districts, duly furnished with their proper officers. The British Medical Association is a grand ally of the government system, continually offering advice and proposing reforms; such, for instance, as the abolition of coroner's inquests, the building of asylums for habitual drunkards, and the forming of Conjoint Examining Boards to license pharmacutists, midwives, dentists and nurses.

The central sanitary agency of England is named the Local Government Board, taking cognizance of hygiene and charity, supervising, advising and assisting local health boards in matters of drainage, sewerage, water supply, etc. It has little or nothing to do with quarantine—a notable peculiarity, due, of course, to the climate of England. The engineer of

the Board (Mr. Rawlinson) is considered its most important officer, his purview extending over the whole kingdom. In all English cities and towns, the authorities, health boards and societies are more or less alive to the great necessity of sanitary improvement, especially in sewerage and water supply. In a great number of places the sewerage is found to poison, not alone the air, but the waters of rivers, killing fish and injuring the health of those who use it for domestic purposes. To correct these evils, the refuse of many towns has been diverted to the land, where it serves the purposes of agriculture—encouragingly in some localities. Still, it is found to be a great nuisance and difficulty—greatest in the largest cities—and altogether one of the most mischievous legacies of preceding generations, who could never appreciate its danger as a poison or its value as a fertilizer. The water both of wells and rivers has been subjected to the analyses and tests of English chemists and other experts, who have warned the public against impurities derived from tainted soils in a variety of ways—some of which were recently noted in an article on *The Hygiene of Water* in this REVIEW—and also suggested the precautions necessary to secure the purity so needful to the general health. The sanitary measures of the British Health Boards are, in fact, very creditable to the kingdom.

The United States Government began to move in a sanitary direction on March 3d, 1879. Under the provisions of an Act of Congress, the President appointed as members of the National Board of Health, Preston H. Baillache, M. D., U. S. M., Maryland; Samuel M. Bemiss, M. D., Louisiana; John S. Billings, M. D., U. S. A., D. C.; Henry J. Bowditch, M. D., Mass.; James L. Cabell, M. D., Va.; Hosmer A. Johnston, M. D., Illinois; Robert W. Mitchell, M. D., Tenn.; Samuel F. Phillips, Esq., Solicitor-General, D. C.; Stephen Smith, M. D., New York; Thomas J. Turner, M. D., U. S. N., D. C.; Tullio S. Verdi, M. D., D. C.; seven being chosen from different States, assisted by a legal member, and three representing the Army, the Navy and the Marine Hospitals.

Since its formation, the Board has met at eight periods (during 1879) and three places—these last being Atlanta, Ga.,

Nashville, Tenn., and Washington, D. C. (six times). Those frequent meetings were necessary, as the executive which it had chosen was not recognized by law, though it has had charge of all the routine business of the organization. The Board in its operation has accepted the advice and some of the views of the leading sanitarians and health-institutions of the nation, and these have been mainly expressed in the terms of the American Public Health Association, at the meeting of that body on the 21st of November, 1879, in Nashville. There it was resolved that the investigations set on foot by the Board are approved by the Society, and should be continued; that Congress should appropriate funds sufficient to employ the best talent and apparatus necessary to its purposes; that the regulations of the Board, as regarded foreign vessels from infected ports, were fit and proper, and that the system of quarantine should be placed under its control. It was also resolved that Congress should invite an International Congress for the discussion of quarantine subjects, and should organize a quarantine station near the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Another influential ally of the Board is the National Academy of Sciences, which placed on record (December 27, 1879,) its recommendation that for the present no change be made in the Board; that it should have a legal executive committee; that it should extend its supervision to cholera, malaria, typhoid and other fevers, diphtheria and cerebro-spinal meningitis; should cause to be surveyed places remarkably unhealthy or likely to become so; should try to secure uniformity in the collection of vital statistics in the several States, and should for that purpose invite a commission of State representatives and local authorities; that the Act of June, 1879, to prevent the introduction of contagious and infectious diseases, should be amended in order to enforce penalties against ships entering without clean bills of health; that when the Executive Committee of the Board shall report any locality in the States dangerously infected, the President may prohibit trade between such places and other localities until justified by further report of the committee; and that the

Board should establish quarantine stations near Chesapeake Bay, and Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico, to be maintained at the national expense.

Supported by such sanctions and the general sense of the nation, the Board has been distributing schedules of questions respecting the sanitary conditions of cities and towns in the several States, and gathering a valuable amount of information. Its proceedings, as regularly reported in the weekly *Bulletin* published at Washington, have been interesting to all sanitarians, but can be alluded to here only in a general way, with a notice of the most important. Of these was the expedition sent to Cuba in July, 1879, not in the old style of international expeditions, but in a spirit of scientific amity. It was the Commission of Dr. S. E. Chaillé, of New Orleans; Col. T. S. Hardie, C. E., of New Orleans; Dr. John Guiteras, of Philadelphia, and Surgeon Geo. M. Sternberg, U. S. A., having for its object the investigation of yellow fever in one of its chief habitats. The party set out on the 4th of July and returned on the 4th of October. The investigation was duly reported in a Health Bulletin, and is chiefly interesting as a beginning. Yellow fever—which the Spaniards say was noted at Havana for the first time in 1761—was found to be endemic, showing itself regularly in Cuba, and being most deadly in the chief ports, where people were most crowded together in badly ventilated houses, in the midst of dirty streets, and suffering from bad sewerage. The customary death-rate in such localities is from four to five per cent. annually, nearly double the average mortality in our States. Dr. Chaillé concluded that the disease does not originate in the shipping, but is brought to ships from the shore. Dr. Sternberg photographed certain crystalline bodies existing in the air, taken from various localities in Havana, especially the military hospitals. He found certain slender, glistening acicular crystals radiating from small opaque masses,—things that have been detected in Morgan City, Centreville, and Bayou Beuf, La., but never discovered in the hospitals of New York.

On the arrival of the American Commission, the Captain-General appointed another body to act in an auxiliary capacity,

and among its members was Dr. Finlay, who has contributed his share of information on the theme of yellow fever. In his report, which accompanies that of our commissioners, he asserts that the air of Havana is always alkaline, the alkali increasing from May to August, lessening from September to December, and remaining low from January to April. This alkalinity seems to be a cause of the disease, though the latter will exhibit itself in the cool months also. The air of Havana is found to be more alkaline than that of any other locality in Cuba, and this is supposed to account for the more deadly nature of the disease in that capital.

The Commission gathered a great number of facts, but nothing trustworthy as regards the cause of yellow fever. They have, however, been convinced that filth and bad ventilation in a warm atmosphere have much to do with it. The water supply of Havana is bad, the soil is undrained, and half the population live under conditions very favorable to the chief product of the place, yellow fever. The seeds of this disease may possibly have their birth in the high temperature of Cuba and the West-Indian islands; but it seems evident that they are never propagated in it to any injurious extent, but gather all their deadly vitality in the midst of the ignorant and reckless inhabitants of cities and towns. Some such conclusion will yet be reached, very probably, by the above-mentioned Spanish Commission, which has been made permanent in Cuba.

As regards the necessity of making an international agreement with Spain on the subject of quarantine, the National Board of Health, in its Annual Report (Supplement No. 2), declares that our Government will find a difficulty in the fact that our States have the power to exclude or delay vessels coming from foreign ports, though bearing clean bills of health, and that such action cannot be controlled by the central authority. The difficulty is a serious one; but it will no doubt be overcome or diminished, in the general progress of sanitary improvement which tends to abate the dangers or terrors of international intercourse.

Among the other movements of the National Board

were : the appointment of a competent legal authority in Boston, to collect all the laws of the several States relating to the public health ; the appointment of Prof. Ira Remsen, of the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, to determine the amount of organic matter in the air ; of Dr. C. F. Folsom, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Health, assisted by Drs. Bigelow, Bowditch and Wood, to investigate the nature of disinfectants ; of Prof. C. F. Chandler, of Columbia College, New York University, to examine patent disinfectants ; of Dr. H. A. Johnson, assisted by Dr. Kedzie, of Michigan, and Prof. Dielh, of Louisville, Ky., to investigate the adulteration of drugs and food ; of Drs. Cabell, Verdi and Bailhache, to examine the diseases of food-producing animals ; and of Col. George E. Waring, of Newport, R. I., to report on sewerage. Other movements of the Board have been a sanitary survey of the coast of New Jersey, near New York Bay ; a sanitary survey of Memphis, under a special committee of which Dr. Billings was Chairman ; an investigation of the hygiene of the mercantile marine, under Surgeon P. H. Bailhache, U. S. M. ; another of diphtheria in Vermont, by Dr. Elisha Harris, of New York, and another, made by Prof. Raphael Pumpelly, of the United States Geological Survey, on the influence of soils on public health.

These investigations have been followed by published reports, exhibiting a large amount of sanitary activity and progress ; and the rules and regulations of the central Board have been adopted by the State authorities of Illinois, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas ; and by the local boards of several cities and towns in these States, as well as by the local boards of Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina and Missouri.

The question of imported diseases has largely occupied the attention of the Board, which has decided that complete establishments of quarantine are needed only at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore (the mouth of the Chesapeake), Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Brunswick, Ga., Fernandina in Florida, Ship Island, Miss., and some point on the Texas coast. This recommendation is no doubt wise under

the circumstances. We would not disparage the wisdom of quarantine supervision, under the sanitary conditions which exist at present in most civilized countries; but we cannot altogether ignore the force of the thought that if the sanitary conditions of a section were what they ought to be, there would be less need of quarantine in that section. Indeed, we are confident that if sufficient attention were given to local conditions, in other words, if our own homes, streets and soil were kept wholesome, we might safely defy every approach of disease from sources foreign or outside of our habitations and immediate environments.

The great enemy to be guarded against is yellow fever. When, in July, 1879, the disease was found to exist in New Orleans and Memphis, the Board sent twenty-five inspectors to those places. The condition of Memphis, as published by the Board (*Health Bulletin* of December 13th, 1879), gave sufficient evidence that the disease—however originating—found its habitat and proper nourishment in the physical defects and abuses of the city. The list of its foul cisterns, wells, houses, closets, broken streets and wharves, defective sewers, etc., is very significant. Dr. Billings, Major Benyaurd, Drs. Folsom and Mitchell and Col. Waring recommended a great number of reforms which the people of Memphis are fully determined to adopt. The site of their city is favorable to a good system of drainage, and it will probably soon be a new city with a happier sanitary future before it.

In New Orleans also, the influence of the Board has been beneficially felt, and the citizens are beginning to lose the fatalism or apathy with which they have usually regarded those epidemical "visitations of Providence." They begin to see the great necessity of that eternal vigilance which is the price of their prosperity, and their engineer, Captain Eads, is now engaged in deepening and clearing the *embouchures* of the Mississippi, a work which will cost millions of dollars, well expended. It is recognized that—to quote the happy motto of the *New York Sanitarian*—"public health is public wealth," and the means of securing it the best policy of all cities. The trading prosperity of New Orleans has been

impaired by the prevalence of its periodical diseases and the necessary quarantines. Just now, St. Louis is urging many reasons against a free trade with it, pleading the dangers of infection, and making agreements with Texas to draw away the customary trade of that State with New Orleans. The latter can perceive that, in order to keep or increase its commerce, it must, so to speak, "make itself clean," and be in a fit and proper condition to hold free intercourse with its neighbors. Such considerations, as true of the whole country as of St. Louis, will wonderfully help the progress of sanitary science in New Orleans and all along the great highway of the Mississippi.

It is interesting to see the waking up of our great cities under the strong sanitary compulsions of the time. The younger cities of the West are particularly active; for the reason, probably, that there changes can be made with comparative facility and effect, in open localities, unembarrassed by any interest of long standing, and, therefore, not easily obstructed.

At the same time, our old eastern capitals have felt the necessity of changing their conditions and keeping pace with the progress of intelligence. Boston, for instance, has been forced to wrestle with its sluggish and deadly sewerage which, having a fall of only a few feet, flowed stagnantly into the flats on the edges of the city, and was largely borne back by the tides; while several of its outlets are in the midst of a dense population and very near some hospitals and bathing-houses. For this state of things an expensive remedy has been adopted, on a plan followed in London, Berlin, Dantzic and other cities. Great intercepting sewers are taking shape along the margin of the city, lower than the existing sewers, for the purpose of receiving their contents and conveying it to a main sewer, a few feet lower, whence it is to flow to a pumping station and be raised by machinery to a height of some forty feet. From this elevation the matter will be carried in a sloping tunnel, about seven thousand feet long, to the edge of the bay, and thence through the rocky ground to Moon Island. From this place it will be discharged

into the sea at the hours of ebb tide. It will no doubt be a very onerous remedy, but the situation of Boston makes it a grand necessity of existence; though it is to be regretted that such an expensive means of throwing the sewerage into the sea could not be employed to utilize it, in some shape, as an excellent manure for the soil of Massachusetts—a thing not half so well cultivated as the intellect of its people. Massachusetts was the first of our States to establish (in 1870) a State Board of Health—and the example was of great national value. By a recent change, its health administration has been combined with that of charity and lunacy in a new commission; and the union will, no doubt, tend to advance the best interests of sanitary science.

Other cities have been making a multitude of improvements favorable to the health and comfort of their inhabitants; and our medical and scientific societies are working in cheerful accord with the purposes of the Central Board. The American Public Health Association is one of the most efficient of these, giving countenance and encouragement to everything that may benefit the community in a sanitary way. Dr. Cabell, in his address to the Association (reported in the *Sanitarian* for January, 1880), gives an account of Prof. Gamgee's proposals to disinfect vessels by means of refrigeration assisted in a great degree by the use of deliquescent chlorides, which would remove from the air all molecular matter and moisture, and by the employment of superheated steam—means which the Government has not yet thought fit to sanction. The Professor's plans have much to recommend them; but they would involve great expense and trouble to produce results which will probably be secured by those means of prevention—cleanliness and care—which have been already suggested by our sanitarians.

The science of public health, though in its infancy, has made progress in many ways, more or less notable, and has in its service a great number of excellent periodicals and journals which contribute largely to the sanitary education of the people. State Boards of Health have been formed in sixteen States; and in New York a bill was presented during the last

session by Senator Woodin, at Albany, for establishing such a Board. "It provides"—we quote the *New York Sanitary Engineer* of February 1st, 1880, "that the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint three commissioners, two of whom shall be graduates of legally constituted medical colleges in the State, and of not less than seven years' practice in their profession. These three, together with the Attorney-General, State Engineer, and the Health Officer of the Port of New York, who shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board, and three other persons to be designated by the Governor, one of whom shall be a commissioner of health of the city of New York, and the others commissioners of health of organized boards of health of cities of the State, shall constitute the proposed State Board. The proposed commissioners are to hold office for three years, and are to meet once in every three months, or oftener if necessary. The Secretary only shall receive pay, his salary being placed at \$3,000 per year, but the actual travelling expenses of the other members of the Board are to be paid. The Board is to have general supervision of the State system of registration of births, marriages, deaths, etc., a bureau of vital statistics being established at Albany for that purpose. The commissioners are to report annually to the Governor, and the sum of \$15,000 is appropriated to carry out the general provisions of the act." Pennsylvania and other States will doubtless join in the movement. The legislature of Maine still holds out against its sanitarians, who have found themselves under the necessity of pleading that, as the State had, among its enactments, one that appropriated some four thousand dollars for the killing of bears and wolves, it should now sanction a little more expense to destroy public infection—an enemy vastly more dangerous than the existence of wild animals. But, as the *New York Sanitarian* pleasantly remarks—"the Solons of Maine" got out of the difficulty by taking the old law from the statute-book—thus weakening the sarcastic logic of the sanitarians. It is, however, but a question of time; and, in this respect, Maine will yet be found as much in the Union as New Jersey.

New York City, like Boston, is becoming alive to the re-

quirements of good health—though it does not yet feel under the necessity of gathering up its sewer filth about the wharves and sending it, in a tunnel as tall as its bridge-towers, to Sandy Hook—thanks to the sanitary rushing of its magnificent surrounding waters. Its municipal authorities, either warned or incited by the growing sanitary sentiment—largely helped by the equally sanitary outcries of the public journals—are beginning to reform many things that need reforming. The Superintendent of Public Buildings has received the pelting of a pitiless public opinion, with regard to a great number of slight and perilous houses “run up” in the city. Factories, tenement dwellings, cellars and fetid sewers are assailed and brought into court; and chemistry is called on to disinfect air, burn up smoke and abolish a good many of our “two and seventy stenchcs.” The New York Sanitary Reform Society, recently created under the presidency of James Gallatin, is in accord with the City Board of Health, of which Prof. C. F. Chandler is president, and both are earnest in the cause of city health. In the same cause are effectively engaged the *Sanitarian*, edited by Dr. Bell, and the *Sanitary Engineer*, edited by Charles F. Wingate—this last bringing the great social question “home to the business and bosoms” of the intelligent, industrial population, whose desire to learn justifies the trouble he takes through his paper and in his *Healthy Homes for Rich and Poor*, and *Rural Hygiene*, to enlighten and benefit them. Another sanitary undertaking of New York citizens is an improvement in the architecture and arrangement of school buildings—public or private—in which the conditions of light and ventilation have, in many instances, been found very defective. A matter affecting the physical growth of the rising generation is of the first importance, and public opinion has justified the liberality of the *Sanitary Engineer*, which has offered a premium for the best specimen of a school-house constructed according to the requirements of health. Such things are significant evidences of the popular progress of sanitary knowledge; more significant, perhaps, than the proceedings of larger agencies, such as the American Public Health Association, already alluded to, which has done and is doing a good work coextensive

with our States, since its formation in 1872. Its sanitary philosophy is of the peripatetic order, for its yearly meetings are held in various State capitals, and are generally regarded as conferences of national importance. Its volumes of printed proceedings are valuable records; and perhaps the last issued (1877, 1878) may be considered the worthiest, in the great variety of its contents.

Supported by such auxiliaries, the National Board of Health has undertaken the duty of gradually educating the public mind on this great question. Dr. Billings, in a late address to the New York County Medical Society, said that "a National Board of Health, by its publications, by advice given through its members and inspectors, and in many other ways, can and should give a powerful stimulus to the progress of sanitary education." This it has been doing, and its influence is felt in a hundred ways. The National Board of Trade, at a meeting in December, 1879, agreed, on the motion of Mr. Thurber of New York, to offer a reward for the best essay on the mode of preventing or detecting food-adulterations, without injuriously interfering with traffic. The Bureau of Education has sanctioned the circulation of a lecture by Mr. Commissioner Eaton, on the "training of nurses" for public hospitals; and Dr. Buck, American editor of Ziemssen's *Cyclopadia of the Practice of Medicine*, lately published a *Treatise of Hygiene and Public Health*, containing essays from some of the most eminent practitioners in the States. At the same time, the great question has been treated and discussed by a large number of able men—authors, lecturers, journalists—among whom we would enumerate Dr. H. H. Kane, who has published a complete *Manual of the Sick Room*, for the instruction of our American nurses, a class of persons who will yet contribute in an ample degree to the sanitary well-being of society.

WILLIAM DOWE.

ART. VII.—THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE JEWS.

1. *Geschichte der Juden*. VON PROFESSOR L. VON GRÄTZ.
2. *Civil Disabilities of the Jews*. By LORD MACAULAY.
3. *Tancred, or the New Crusade*. By RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI.
4. *Statistical Reports upon the Condition of the Jews in Russia and Roumania, 1870-9*.

It is recorded that one of the most notorious of mediæval ruffians, when confessing his crimes upon his death-bed, pleaded in extenuation of them that "he had at least performed two good actions in his life—helped to burn a heretic, and murdered a Jew." Whether authentic or not, this saying is a true and terrible symbol of the condition of the "outlawed people" during the whole of the vast period which elapsed between the final destruction of Jerusalem and the outburst of the French Revolution. What the Christian was under Pagan rule, the Jew has been under that of Christianity—a creature utterly beyond the pale of human sympathy, born to be universally hated, contemned, plundered, tortured, hunted down like a wild beast—seeing in every new ruler only a fresh persecutor, in every political change only a fresh variety of suffering.

But all this furnace of affliction has not sufficed to burn out the vitality of that wonderful race, which has been justly styled "a mystery to itself and to all mankind." It would be impossible to name any other people which has so long held a prominent place in history, without showing any sign of decrepitude. All its contemporaries have long ago vanished from the world's stage. Antiquaries puzzle over the ruins of Persian and Assyrian palaces. The Greek and the Roman live only in the imperishable records of genius. The Tartar,

whose forefathers trampled like grass the proudest chivalry of Europe, is now a peaceful herdsman upon Asiatic steppes, to whom the very names of Gerghiz and Timour are almost unknown. The all-conquering Moslem has long since waned from a terror to a scoff. But the Jew, who saw the rise of all these, has survived their fall. Over the graves of countless empires he still stands erect and vigorous; overcoming seemingly insuperable obstacles with his silent, stubborn tenacity, and fast monopolizing all the real power of every Christian community, while still retaining in all their fulness the creed, the observances, the characteristics of the men who followed Moses through the deserts beyond the Red Sea, thirty-five centuries ago.

It is this intense individuality that distinguishes the Hebrew stock from all other great human families. Many nations have perpetuated their influence while losing their independent personality. The Anglo-Dane, the Saxon, the Norman, have merged themselves in the Englishman, the Lett and Wend in the Prussian, the Breton and Provençal in the Frenchman. But neither the loss of his country, the proscription of his faith, the disuse of his ancient language, nor the destruction of his ancient capital, has availed to alter the Jew one whit. As he was in the days of Pontius Pilate and Porcius Festus, so he is now—the most thorough and indomitable personality upon the face of the earth. This fact alone is a sufficient explanation of the systematic and almost unparalleled oppression of which he has been the victim. To the iron centralization of the Roman Empire, or the grim feudal tyranny of the Middle Ages, the existence of a race of men who recognized no code and no religion but their own, set the ordinances of Moses before the decrees of either king or kaiser, and preferred death in its worst form to the slightest infraction of the Levitical law, was simply intolerable. The unmistakable seriousness with which Tacitus (a man of exceptional enlightenment and, in his own way, of equally exceptional humanity) deplors the failure of Antiochus Epiphanes' efforts to "reform"* (by hanging, torturing,

**Histories*, Book V.

burning alive, and other approved methods) "that execrable nation, the Jews," is one of the most instructive as well as the most lamentable monuments of the irreconcilable feud between free thought and irresponsible despotism.

Almost up to the close of the last century, only a few far-sighted politicians paid any attention to the "Jewish question," which was so soon to become to Europe what the Chinese problem now is to America. But the march of events during the last three generations has made that question one of the most important public facts in Europe—and not in Europe alone. To those who have travelled in Central Asia and northern Africa, it might well seem as if Providence had destined the very regions which were formerly the scene of the Jew's deepest degradation to become that of his completest triumph. The savage Ameer of Bokhara, Nasr-Ullah Khan (whose death in 1860 came just in time to save him from the well-merited vengeance of Russia), while perpetrating nameless atrocities upon every other class, never, from first to last, harmed a Jew. The only restriction imposed upon his Jewish subjects was the wearing of a broad yellow girdle, and high black funnel-shaped cap, to distinguish them from the Mohammedans; and at this moment nearly a thousand of them are living peacefully and prosperously in Samarcand, under the shadow of the very walls upon which the quartered bodies of their countrymen were once exposed by Timour. Independent Jewish communities, some of which possess considerable wealth, exist in every part of Persia and northern Afghanistan. In Smyrna, where the proscribed race was all but exterminated in 1665, their *soi-disant* "Messiah" himself, Sabbathai Tzewi, being fain to save his life by apostasy and abject self-degradation, the leading men in every department—bankers, merchants, tradesmen, land-owners—are Jews. Tunis, in whose lowest dens the persecuted people once burrowed like hunted foxes, with the yell of "Death to the circumcised dogs!" ringing in their ears day and night, now numbers among its 120,000 inhabitants no fewer than 25,000 Jews, who hold in their hands the entire commerce of the place; and the Jewish ladies walk abroad unattended, in their quaint semi-masculine dress,

without the slightest risk of insult—a fact of which the writer himself had ample proof during a recent visit to the city.* Jerusalem itself, where its former possessors were recently a despised and down-trodden handful, has had its former population of 12,000 more than doubled since the Crimean war by a constant Jewish immigration; and although the immigrants have hitherto come exclusively from the poorer class, this very fact sufficiently shows what may be done by their wealthier countrymen when the latter shall think fit to follow their example.

When we turn from Mussulman to Christian countries, the same wonderful change meets us at every turn. Poland, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was the most conspicuous of anti-jewish persecutors, and Bogdan Khmelnitski, the famous Cossack leader whose rebellion in 1647 transferred the Ukraine from Poland to Russia, is stated on good authority to have destroyed during his ten years' rule at least a quarter of a million Jews.† But at the present day, in a population of 6,025,421 souls, the Jews number 815,433 (nearly one seventh of the whole), a large proportion of whom are men of respectable means and position. Peter the Great, in the earlier part of his reign, banished them from Russia altogether, with the two-edged sarcasm that “if he were to let them remain, the Russians would cheat them out of all they had.” At the present day, the province of the Caucasus alone contains 22,732 Jews, and Russia proper 1,944,378 more, including not a few of the greatest capitalists in the whole empire. Spain, again, expelled every unconverted Jew from her dominions in 1492, denouncing the penalty of death at the stake against all who should dare to return; and Portugal, in which no fewer than 70,000 of the exiled families had sought refuge, followed the evil example, to her own incalculable loss, three years later. Any one who has lately visited either country, can judge for

* It is a well-established though very deplorable fact, that the mediæval Jews fared infinitely better among the “barbarous” Moslems, than under the Christian sovereigns of Europe. Moorish Spain sheltered and nourished the outcasts whom Christian Spain pursued to the death; and in 1290, the very year of Edward I's wholesale expulsion of the Jews from England, a Jewish physician was made Finance-Minister of Persia by Shah Arghim.

† See M. Kostomarov's *History of the Cossack Rebellion*.

himself how utterly these cruel precautions have been defeated by the irresistible march of events. But it is needless to multiply instances, which the statistics of every European country from Norway to Greece will furnish in abundance to those who need them.

It is, however, in France and England that the progressive changes of this great historical drama have been most striking and instructive; and a very cursory glance at the past of the "separated race" will enable us to measure (so far, at least, as they can be measured at all) the mighty possibilities of its future.

In the earlier ages of French history, as in those of most other European States, the long torment of the Jews was relieved by an interval of comparative peace. Men were not yet civilized enough to be wantonly cruel, or religious enough to be bloodily fanatical. The aliens traded, prospered, amassed wealth, and often held posts of considerable importance among their Christian compatriots. But the outburst of that great succession of religious earthquakes known as the Crusades, broke in rudely upon the repose of this golden era. The bigoted zeal which thirsted for the blood of Saracens, involved in the havoc of its ferocious piety all non-Christians alike. "Ye go forth to slay the unbelievers," yelled the fierce Dominican, Rudolph; "begin, then, with these infidel Jews around you." The savage suggestion was only too readily carried out; and although Bernard of Clairvaux, to his eternal honor, at length succeeded in stemming the tide of destruction, he did so only when thousands of innocent victims had cruelly perished.

From this time onward to the close of the fourteenth century, the history of the Jews in France is one long persecution, in which one scarcely knows whether to wonder most at the blind brutality of the oppressors, or the superhuman endurance of the oppressed. Philip Augustus, the brother-in-arms of Richard Cœur de Lion, banished them from his dominions at the opening of the third Crusade, but, wiser than Louis XIV five centuries later, permitted them to return, in 1198. In 1215, the Lateran Council inflicted upon them the stigma of

a "distinctive badge," which thenceforth became universal in Christendom. In the ensuing generation, St. Louis (whose natural kindness of heart was sadly warped, in this as in other cases, by the bigotry of his age) expelled them a second time, only to return with unflinching tenacity a few years later. Their third exile was effected in 1306 by Philip the Handsome, to whom belongs the unenviable notoriety of the three greatest crimes of his age—the destruction of the Templars, the persecution of the Jews, and the establishment of the "Anti-Pope" at Avignon. But even in their banishment a new and awful calamity pursued them. The terrific pestilence of 1348–50, known in history by the hideous name of "Black Death," drove all Europe mad with that unreasoning terror which has in every age been the parent of cruelty. It was rumored that the Spanish Jews had invented a subtle poison, which their brethren had been charged to pour into the wells of every country in Europe. Among fierce and ignorant men, half-crazed by the daily spectacle of death in its most appalling form, even this monstrous falsehood passed current only too readily. A wholesale butchery commenced, which spared neither age nor sex. Only a miserable remnant of the exiles lived to avail themselves of the amnesty of 1360, which restored them to France, to be driven out again, however, in 1394, for the fourth and last time, by the "mad king," Charles VI.

Thrust out of France, the castaways sought refuge in Italy, where they enjoyed an interval of unwonted peace and comfort, before persecution found them out anew. But even when it did so, they were probably no worse off than they would have been if permitted to remain in France. Under a human hyena like Louis XI, a maniac like Charles IX, a satyr like Henry III, or a puppet like Louis XIII, they could have had little to hope for; and the senseless bigotry which, in 1685, expelled the peaceful and industrious Huguenots, would certainly not have spared the far more obnoxious Jews. A State which was governed by Maintenons, and Pompadours, and Dubarrys, was no home for *them*. But the day of deliverance, though long delayed, came at last in overflowing

measure; and the earthquake that shook the whole world broke the shackles of the oppressed race at once and forever. On the 28th of September, 1791, the National Assembly of France recognized the Jews as French citizens; and within a very few years of that recognition, Jewish financiers were being consulted upon the weightiest political secrets of the French Empire, and Jewish generals leading to victory the finest armies of Napoleon.*

Let us now turn to England, which, to her eternal shame, was the last of civilized States to recognize as human beings the race that had stood foremost among the nations of the earth, in days when Britain itself was a pathless haunt of naked savages. Here and in Germany, the persecution of the oppressed people was the most prolonged and unsparing of all, checkered at long intervals by a few delusive gleams of hope. What the life of an English Jew was in the so-called "age of chivalry," the author of *Ivanhoe* has told us in words that can never die. What it has been even in a far milder age, may be gathered from the more concise but equally powerful details of Lord Macaulay.

The reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, regarded by so many enthusiasts as the heroic age of English history, was to the ill-fated Jews only a season of unparalleled gloom and despair. His coronation gave the signal for a general massacre of the unoffending aliens in every part of the kingdom, culminating at York in that fearful tragedy which surpassed the bloodiest excesses of the Thirty Years' War. During Richard's prolonged absence on the third crusade, the horrors inflicted upon them by the "Front-de-Bœufs" and "Malvoisins" of the time, transcended the worst atrocities of the Roman Cæsars; while under Richard's cruel and cowardly brother, John, their sufferings were, if possible, even greater.

During the long and uneventful reign of Henry III, the hunted race enjoyed some respite, and even made a show, for the first time, of distinct national existence. One of the chief

* The Hebrew origin of Marshal Soult seems to be pretty clearly proved, while the statement that Massena was a Jew, whose real name was Manasseh, is supported by more than one very respectable authority.

rabbis, a man highly esteemed by the King for his piety and learning, was permitted to exercise considerable authority over his countrymen, and even to convene a Jewish parliament, which met periodically at Worcester. But it soon degenerated into a mere "committee of supply" for the needs of the sovereign and his rapacious courtiers; and even this shadow of liberty vanished at the coming of his iron-handed son and successor, Edward I. In 1290, a royal edict banished the Jews "forth of the realm, never to return."

The majority of the outcasts sought refuge in Holland, where, amid a community already giving promise of its future commercial eminence, and not yet crushed out of all semblance of freedom by the gloomy tyranny of Spain, they enjoyed a hitherto unknown measure of quiet and even of prosperity. Many of them took an active part in the growing traffic of the great Flemish cities, and by degrees established a Jewish colony at Amsterdam, which was afterward to produce one of the greatest and most misrepresented heroes of modern times, Baruch Spinoza.

But amid all this undreamed-of good fortune, the exiles cherished the hope of one day returning to England, as steadfastly as the Moors of Tetuan and Tangier still cling to that of a Moslem reconquest of Spain. That hope was at last realized. With them, as with their French brethren, the death-day of absolute monarchy was the birthday of Jewish freedom. In 1655, when Cromwell was at the height of that power before which the haughtiest of the Stuarts had fallen, the Rabbi Manasseh Ben Israel crossed from Amsterdam to London and pleaded the cause of his people before the great Puritan leader, face to face. Oliver listened, and was convinced. After three hundred and sixty-five years of exile, the Jews of England returned to their homes once more.

But they returned only to encounter another phase of persecution, which, if less crushing than the former, was infinitely more unmanly and degrading. The Hebrew had ceased to be the hunted wolf, born to the doom that "every one who findeth him shall slay him;" he was now the despised beast of burden, spared by the contemptuous mercy of those

who found his life more profitable to them than his death. *Subjectos tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos*, summed up, for many a weary year, the condition of the Jews in "free" England. The walls of the mediæval "Ghettos" were replaced by the impalpable but far stronger barrier of public opinion. The age of wholesale massacre and wanton torture, of illegal imprisonments and exorbitant ransoms, had indeed gone by forever; but to all who retained any spark of the ancient Hebrew spirit, the new *régime* of degrading restrictions and vulgar insults was almost equally intolerable. No Jew, however well qualified, dared to appear as a candidate for any public office. No clever Jewish lad might presume to share the sports or the studies of Christian boys. Even the dandy of the Mall or St. James' Park, however willing to borrow the Jew's money when his own purse had been emptied by ill-luck at basset or ombre, treated him as a Pariah is treated in British India by a high-caste Bramin. "A downright Jew," "as bad as a Jew," were the current phrases to express the superlative of knavery and meanness. Nor was even personal outrage wholly a thing of the past. When some unlucky Jew was ducked in Fleet Ditch by a band of roystering young Templars, or tossed in a blanket by the roughs of Smithfield or Hockley-in-the-Hole, English justice made no very strenuous exertions either to redress his wrongs or to prevent their recurrence. In a word, the popular feeling toward the Jew, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was not the remnant of a fast disappearing prejudice; it was simply the strong intolerance of the old school moving in a narrower circle.

Nor was this all. Literature, reflecting as usual the temper of its age, arrayed against the outlawed caste foes of a very different kind from the grimy ruffians of Porridge Island, or the feather-brained loungers of Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Great wits and brilliant novelists held up the Jew to public contempt as a monstrous mixture of demon and buffoon, alternately hateful and ridiculous, sacrificing all obligations of religion and morality to gratify his avarice, and avarice itself to gratify the foulest of sensual appetites. Nor was this injustice confined

to England. Several of the best German tales of Jacob Grimm make a Jew at once the villain and the booby of their vivid little melodramas—the author of every imaginable crime, and the butt of every imaginable jest. Nay, in a quaint Cossack legend still popular with the Russian peasantry, the Evil One himself, when charged by a pious hermit with a design upon his soul, answers with righteous indignation, “I’m not such a *Jew* as all that!”

The result of all this was what it has invariably been. Prejudice fostered misrepresentation, while misrepresentation sustained and apparently justified prejudice. The Jew’s unpopularity multiplied the allegations against him, while those allegations in their turn increased his unpopularity. What the received type of a Jew was even among the large-souled worthies of the Elizabethan age, has been depicted in imperishable colors by the world’s greatest dramatist; and the dreadful portrait of Shylock has unquestionably done much to perpetuate a feud which the great human heart of Shakespeare would have been the first to repudiate. Later writers, following in the same direction, represented every Jew as a Shylock without his redeeming points; and the ideal Hebrew of the nineteenth century was as accurately typified in Dickens’ Fagin as his predecessor of the sixteenth in the savage usurer of Venice.

But the last day of this monstrous wrong was now beginning to dawn. The example set by France and the United States, and already followed by most of the smaller kingdoms of Europe, was not to be ignored. The more liberal class of Englishmen began to feel an honest and manly shame at finding their country last, instead of first, in a work of justice and humanity; and the repeal of the iniquitous statutes against the Catholic subjects of Great Britain naturally impressed upon every candid and intelligent man a conviction of the justice, as well as expediency, of removing the similar restraints imposed upon the Jews. In 1830, a “Jewish Emancipation Bill” was presented to the House of Commons; and its author, having carried it triumphantly through the first reading, gave notice of his intention to bring it forward again in the ensuing session.

Such an announcement, made at a time when the impending conflict over the Reform Bill was stirring every fibre of the nation, had an effect which may be easily imagined. Strenuous support on one side, and furious opposition on the other, greeted the projected movement in every part of the country. The public press became a battle field, upon which the cause of the Jew was fought out by conflicting Christian champions; and among the countless arguments brought forward on either side, the ablest critic of the *Edinburgh Review* gave utterance to his opinion in words that are well worth repeating:

"It would be impious, of course, to let a Jew sit in Parliament. But a Jew may make money, and money may make members of Parliament. That a Jew should be privy-councillor to a Christian king, would be an eternal disgrace to the nation. But a Jew may govern the money-market, and the money-market may govern the world. A Minister may be in doubt whether he can carry out his ablest scheme, till he has been closeted with the Jew. A congress of sovereigns may be forced to summon the Jew to their assistance. The scrawl of a Jew upon the back of a piece of paper may be worth more than the royal word of three kings, or the national faith of three new South American republics. But that he should put 'Right Honorable' before his name, would be the most frightful of all national calamities."

Viewed in the light of subsequent events, this splendid irony appears absolutely prophetic. At the time of its publication (January, 1831), there was, in London, an aspiring young Jew of twenty-five, as yet known chiefly by an abortive attempt to get into Parliament, and a caustic political novel called *Virian Grey*. But this crude, flashy, impetuous young man, who had broken down in his first speech amid the laughter of his entire audience, and had been taunted by Daniel O'Connell as "the lineal descendant of the impenitent thief," was destined in after years to accomplish, and even to overpass, all the impossibilities enumerated above. He was to become not merely the privy-councillor, but the prime-minister of an English sovereign. He was not merely to put "Right Honorable" before the name of Benjamin Disraeli, but even to surround the latter with an earl's coronet. He was not merely to sit in the national Parliament, but to make the

Parliament the mouth-piece of his own opinions and the instrument of his own designs. He was to confer titles upon scores of Christian statesmen and generals, and to send thousands of Christian soldiers to death, in pursuit of his private schemes of Eastern conquest and Eastern annexation.

But the time for all this had not yet come. So long as the world remains what it is, every great forward movement in the cause of humanity must reckon upon encountering strenuous opposition; and few such movements have ever been more violently opposed than the Jewish Emancipation Bill. It seemed, indeed, as if the non-admission of the Jew into Parliament were the last and strongest fortress of his enemies, destined to hold out after every other had yielded. One by one, the ancient barriers reared by ignorant intolerance around the proscribed race were fast crumbling away. In 1835, Mr. Salomons, after serving several years as an alderman, was made Sheriff of London. A few years later, the same distinction, supplemented by that of knighthood, was conferred upon Mr. Moses Montefiore, a man with whom any one, whether Jew or Christian, might have been justly proud to claim affinity.* Jewish candidates were again and again returned by immense majorities, although their election was subsequently disallowed; and to crown all, the Jews who held municipal offices in London and elsewhere were expressly exempted by act of Parliament from the necessity of taking the customary oaths. But the doors of the House itself still remained obstinately closed against them.

While the great struggle was thus stubbornly protracted in one part of the field, it had long since been virtually decided in every other. As early as 1813, Frederick William III, of Prussia, wishing to unite his whole people as one man for the final grapple with Napoleon, conceded the rights of citizenship to all his Jewish subjects, an example speedily followed by most

* Montefiore's character, and its striking contrast to that of the man who was the typical Jew of the period, the elder Rothschild, are photographed by one anecdote: "You young fellows," said Rothschild, when Montefiore spoke of retiring, and devoting himself wholly to the cause of his countrymen, "always want to retire directly you've made a trifle." The "trifle" in question was \$1,500,000!

of his immediate neighbors. Six years later, indeed, the cry of persecution was once more raised in southern Germany, where not a few men of education stood forward to advocate the checking of the growth of the Jewish race, by means too hideously inhuman to be repeated. But the tide had now turned too decisively to be stemmed by any human power. Even narrow and bigoted Austria, taught wisdom at length, in spite of herself, by the tremendous experience of 1848-9, sullenly yielded to the overmastering impulse; and when the so-called "year of peace" (1851) dawned upon Europe, the only trace of the savage intolerance which had so long disgraced the whole civilized world was to be found in "enlightened" England.

But even there its days were already numbered. The Jewish Emancipation Bill, carried in triumph through the House of Commons in 1849, by the influence of Lord John Russell, was twice rejected by the House of Lords; but all in vain. Any chance of a compromise had already been rendered impossible by the firmness of Baron Rothschild in refusing to be sworn upon the New Testament, and of Mr. Salomons in declining to take the oath of allegiance while the words "on the faith of a Christian" were allowed to stand. The renewal of the contest in 1851-2 showed that the strength of the emancipationists was increasing in proportion as that of their opponents declined; and the concession of full equality to the Jews in 1858 was supplemented in 1860 by an official proviso, that, when the parliamentary oaths were administered to a Hebrew, the obnoxious clause, "on the faith of a Christian," should be omitted.

So ended at length, in a complete though tardy triumph, the great battle of justice and humanity against the rooted prejudice of ages. But even before this consummation had been reached, the race which had maintained its indomitable vitality under the iron heel of such modern Pharaohs as John of Anjou and Frederick Barbarossa, had already given ample proof of what it could do under a milder and freer *régime*. One glance over Europe in 1849 might have sufficed to convert the most bigoted disbeliever in the future greatness

of the Jewish people. He would have seen Crémieux, Fould and Goudchaux foremost among the politicians of France, and Pincherle a leading member of the Provisional Government of Venice. In Germany, where the Jewish name itself had once been a byword, he would have found Jacobi of Königsberg acting as leader of the opposition in the Parliament of Berlin, and Riesser filling the post of vice-president in that of Frankfort. Even in fanatical Austria he would have discovered Dr. Fischhof standing firm at the head of affairs in Vienna, even after the flight of the court; Rabbi Meisels returned as member of the Austrian Diet by the electors of Cracow; and Adjutant Freund learning, amid the stirring scenes of the Hungarian insurrection, the military skill which was to raise him five years later to the rank of a Turkish general under the title of Mahmoud Pasha. In England itself, where the battle of Jewish emancipation was still undecided, he would have seen Disraeli already midway toward his future eminence, and Baron Rothschild hanging to his purse-strings the whole system of national politics.

But the "coming race" did not confine its triumphs to the field of politics or of warfare. Conspicuous among the great composers of the time were Meyerbeer, Herz. Halévy, and others of scarcely less note. In the foremost rank of a countless host of Jewish savants appeared the great names of Luzzato, Zunz, Geiger, Rappoport, and the "three Jacobs." On the stage, the Hebrew race was represented by the unrivalled talent of Rachel, in the field of Oriental research by Munk, Dernburg, Weil, and Oppert. To the list of eminent political economists it had contributed Lasalle and David Ricardo; to that of mathematicians, Sklow, Stern, and Witzenhausen; to that of pulpit orators, Mannheimer, Kley, Salomon, Frankfurter; to that of philosophers, Maimon, Franck, and Ben-David; to that of physical scientists, Bloch, Valentin, and Hirschfeld; to that of astronomers, Beer, Stern, and Slonimski; to that of historical critics, Jost, Riesser, Fürst, Philippson, Salvador, Cohen, Dukes, Frankel, Sachs, Jellinek, Herzfeld, Grätz, and Steinschneider in Europe, beside Raphael, Wise, and Leaser, in the United States; to that

of miscellaneous writers, Isaac and Benjamin Disraeli, Auerbach, Noé, Grace Aguilar, and Jules Janin, the prince of critics.

Such, then, are the past and the present of the Jewish race; it remains for us to consider briefly its probable future.

The first question which offers itself is naturally the possibility that the Jew, having done so much, may hereafter do yet more, and from being the equal of the Christian, may rise to be his superior. This is precisely the result which many Jews confidently anticipate, and which many Christians as confidently pronounce impossible. The latter willingly admit what they can hardly deny—that the Jew has already shown himself a man of no mean calibre; but they are none the less fond of asking exultingly, whether it is credible that the Jew should prove himself a match for the Christian on the latter's own ground.

It is abundantly evident what answer such a question is intended to receive; and on the principle that "the wish is father to the thought," it probably will receive that answer in most Christian communities. Our own opinion, based on a tolerably minute observation of nearly all the civilized States now existing, is diametrically opposite. We consider the Jew likely to surpass, as well as to rival, the Christian upon the latter's own ground. Indeed, when we remember to what a height the Jew has already risen despite all the efforts of the Christian to keep him down, despite of persecutions, restraints, and judicial severities which would have crushed any other nation upon the face of the earth, it requires no great stretch of fancy to imagine him rising higher yet, now that the removal of these obstructions has left him free to exercise his natural powers at will.

Some reasoners (if such they can be called) are given to cutting this Gordian knot by the sweeping assertion that the Jews as a class are "mere money-grubbers," wholly unfit to discharge the duties of statesmen or of generals. But this convenient theory is manifestly grounded on prejudice rather than sober reason, and may fairly stand in the same category with the belief of our English ancestors, that a Frenchman, simply because he was a Frenchman, must necessarily be incapable of

courage, honesty, human kindness, or any other virtue, and more especially incapable of holding his ground for a moment against an Englishman. In reality, it would be difficult to name any one essential of success in public life which the Jewish race has not. Is it wealth that is required? It is a light thing to say that the richest men of almost every civilized community are Jews; we may go yet farther, and confidently assert that, were the Jewish capitalists to combine in earnest, they could make any European government bankrupt within a week. Is it tenacity? The whole history of the Jews, from their defence of Jerusalem against Titus to their thirty years' struggle at the doors of the English Parliament, is a record of that quality such as the world has never seen elsewhere. Is it cunning or dexterity? The ablest spy at present in the Russian service is a Central-Asian Jew, who has thrice penetrated in disguise, at the imminent risk of his life, into the wildest regions of Afghanistan, bringing back with him each time information which it may safely be asserted that no other man could have obtained.* Is it courage? The feats of Napoleon's Hebrew marshals, and those of the five hundred Jewish volunteers who fell by Kosciusko's side at the storming of Praga, might furnish conclusive evidence on that point, even without the countless other instances with which history teems. Is it the power of obtaining important information, despite all obstacles of time and space? The first man in England who knew of the victory of Waterloo was the elder Rothschild, and that of the Alma was known to a Jew banker in Vienna before reaching the Austrian Cabinet itself. Is it keen foresight, and unerring discernment of character? Any one who is acquainted with the Jewish business men of London, New York or St. Petersburg, will give them ample credit for both. Is it inventiveness? The possession of that gift can hardly be denied to men who, amid the racks and pincers of the grim Plantagenet era, devised that system of "bills of exchange" which was the first germ of our modern banking. Is it versatility? Mediaeval and modern historians vie with each other in multi-

* I myself met this man on my way through Central Asia in 1873, and shall not easily forget what I heard and saw of him.

plying instances of the Jew's marvellous aptitude for any and every pursuit by which money could be made, or persecution avoided—an aptitude surpassing even that attributed by Juvenal to the Romanized Greek of the second century :

“ Rhetor, schoenobates, medicus, magus—*omnia novit*
Graeculus esuriens ; in cœlum, jusseris, ibit.” *

But, apart from these manifold advantages, the modern Jew possesses yet another, which is perhaps the most important of all. The same power which is now beginning to make labor a match for its old adversary, capital, has for generations past enabled the Jew to hold his own against the seemingly overwhelming strength of the Christian. That power is combination. What the Chinese merchants are to the great towns of Asia and South America, the Jews are to those of Europe. Every knot of Jewish capitalists forms a trades-union of its own, as complete and well-organized as any in Manchester, Lyons, or Pittsburg. “ You Gentiles,” said an influential Russian Jew to the writer some years ago, “ are all trying to undersell and outwit each other, and every man's hand is against his neighbor. We Jews, on the contrary, hold together like one man, and play systematically into each other's hands ; and that is how we are enabled to beat you.” Volumes could not have said more.

The effects of this judicious system are visible even in those semi-barbarous regions where (as in Roumania and along the Levantine seaboard) some traces still linger of the tyrannical restrictions formerly imposed upon the proscribed race. National laws may forbid, and national prejudices condemn, the idea of a Jew holding landed property, or in any way becoming a “ son of the soil ;” but of what avail are such hindrances against the irresistible though secret action of wealth allied with cunning ? Some native whom an unpaid debt, or any similar cause, may have placed in the power of the Jew, is chosen to act as the latter's representative. The land ostensibly

* Thus paraphrased by Dr. Johnson :

“ Astronomer, rope-dancer, rhetorician,
Priest, prophet, lackey, lawyer, pimp, physician,
All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,
And bid him go to hell—to hell he goes ! ”

held by him yields all its profits to his unacknowledged patron; the law is evaded though not broken, and once again the indomitable Hebrew has his will.*

Summing up, then, the facts already stated, it is not difficult to draw the conclusion to which they point. But recently one of the greatest of European States had a Jew at its head, and the movement thus inaugurated will certainly not stop there. Before many years are over, Europe may behold a circle of Jewish premiers, legislating as vigorously for the benefit of their own people as Christian statesmen once legislated against it; and although the progress of civilization happily forbids them to retaliate the cruelties of the latter by the exercise of equal severity, there can be no question as to which of the two opposing races would be likely to have the advantage under such a *régime*.

Before quitting the subject, it remains for us to consider one more department of it, which has been so often and so persistently misunderstood as to demand special attention. We refer to the *ecceata questio* of the ultimate restoration of the Jews to their own country, and the reorganization of Palestine into its former condition of a distinctively Hebrew State.

The reasons for the persistent ignoring or misinterpreting of this question are not hard to discern. One set of thinkers, who consider all Scriptural utterances as "intended to bear a metaphorical meaning"—*i. e.*, no meaning at all—conveniently dispose of the predicted restoration by classing it with "purely prophetic [and therefore, according to their view, purely impossible] events." Another school, without going so far as to pronounce the thing impossible, set it down as an abnormal and unnatural contingency, which, should it ever happen at all, can happen only at a very remote period. A third class, again, while admitting that the experiment *might* be tried, stoutly maintain that the race for which it is said to be reserved would be the last men upon earth to think of trying it.

The first of the above-named objections may be summarily disposed of, for it carries its own refutation along with it.

* A similar device has been practised for years past in the negro republic of Hayti, the constitution of which forbids the holding of land by a foreigner.

That the Jews, with the wealth and influence which they now possess, should consolidate themselves into a distinct community, is no more astounding or contrary to reason than that they should have been able to maintain their individuality during eighteen centuries in the face of the fiercest and most continuous persecution which the world has ever known. With equal justice might the most enlightened thinker of the first century of our era have laughed to scorn the suggestion that a handful of obscure and illiterate field-preachers, whose very name of "Christians" was a term of reproach, would one day extend their religion over the whole civilized world. A hundred years ago, the wisest Englishmen of the day were indignant at the folly of those who dared to hint that a scanty population, scattered over a vast extent of almost unreclaimed country, could successfully withstand the whole might of Great Britain, much less grow into the greatest republic upon the face of the earth. History, however, has recorded the complete accomplishment of both these "impossibilities," and of not a few others equally apparent. Nor does the predicted Hebrew avatar itself, when dispassionately examined, appear so very impossible after all. The chief, if not the sole, obstacle to its realization is the fanatical despotism of Turkey, which English reforms on the one hand and Russian conquests on the other have recently shaken to such a degree that many men now living may fairly hope to witness its final extinction. Even under the existing *régime*, so many of the banished race have returned to their ancient possessions that the population of Jerusalem alone has risen, since the close of the Crimean war, from 12,000 to upwards of 30,000, while that of other Syrian towns has increased in proportion.

But the fact just stated, while completely demolishing the first of the three specified objections, seems to lend additional weight to the second. "Who are the majority of these returned exiles?" ask the objectors; "they are mere resourceless laborers, earning a precarious subsistence from day to day, and crowding into the towns because the open country can afford them no means of living. How is a band of poverty-stricken workmen, glad to serve even their Turkish tyrants for a morsel

of bread, to form the nucleus of a Hebrew empire? or how is a region which cannot even support ten or twelve thousand frugal immigrants for a few years together, to become the permanent abode of millions?"

Similar and even more cogent arguments are adduced by other reasoners of the same school. "How can any one hope to thrive," they urge, "under a system of graduated robbery such as that which the Turks humorously call 'administration?' The grand-vizier levies toll upon the governor-general, the governor-general taxes the pashas, the pashas fleece their subordinates, the subordinates plunder the people; and the mere existence of the latter is little short of a miracle, ground down as they are not only by the government impost of ten per cent., but by the countless other exactions for the benefit of the local officials. And even were this obstacle removed, another not less formidable would still remain, in the physical character of the country itself. What are the leading characteristics of the Holy Land, in its present state? Ruin, barrenness, solitude, barbarism, desolation. Between Beyrout and Damascus, the traveller, rolling along a well-beaten high-road in a neat French stage-coach, under the wires of a telegraph, may perhaps dream of civilization; but the divergence of a single mile from the track, will show him, unchanged and unchangeable, all the features of an age when Abraham was still a roving sheikh on the Chaldean steppes—the veiled woman coming from the well with her earthen pitcher upon her head, the laden camel striding through the sand, the gaunt, half-clad herdsman tending his black, dwarfish goats, the wild-eyed Bedouin rushing at full gallop along the brink of a precipice, with his striped mantle streaming banner-like from his shoulders and his sixteen-foot lance of cane quivering in his hand. Ruins everywhere—the ruins of Canaanite cities, of Roman aqueducts, of Byzantine monasteries, of Arab villages, of Christian chapels; splendid monuments half-buried in sand, filthy savages burrowing in the sepulchres of ancient monarchs, spots of world-wide renown sunk in dirt and rubbish: nothing of the present, everything of the past. Centuries would be needed to turn such a desert into a garden;

and even granting that this change could be effected, the making a sterile soil capable of affording a bare subsistence to its population, is hardly tantamount to erecting it into a powerful and self-dependent State."

At the first glance, these arguments are undeniably plausible; but on a closer inspection, they will be found to amount to little or nothing. No one can well assert that centuries have been needed to change the barren tract around Salt Lake City into a populous and flourishing settlement, or to establish more than one thriving Russian colony amid the terrific deserts of Central Asia. Moreover, it must be remembered that the problem as regards Palestine is not to turn a desert into a garden, but simply to restore the productiveness of a garden which neglect has turned into a desert.

This is no figure of speech. Proofs neither few nor slight still remain to show that the glowing descriptions given by her Hebrew prophet-poets of the ancient fertility of Palestine are anything but the fable which so many unhesitatingly pronounce them. Even those who reject Scripture and question history, must believe the testimony of their own eyes; and a single ride across the forty-two miles of country lying between Jaffa and Jerusalem would be more than sufficient to convince the most skeptical. On the plain of Sharon, after ages of wasteful havoc and still more wasteful neglect, the standing corn still reaches, and in many places overtops, the saddle-bow of a horseman as he rides through it. Farther on, along the hillsides above the pass of Abu-Gosh, the vineyards line both sides of the road, for hundreds of yards together, with grapes surpassing the finest clusters of Anatolia. Amid the ruins of three successive cities, the olives of Gethsemane still grow thick and strong as when their leaves trembled at the consummation of the darkest tragedy on record, eighteen hundred years ago. It is not easy for even a well-mounted Arab to force his way through the belt of luxuriant vegetation that stretches for miles along both banks of the Jordan. The noble cedars of Lebanon have indeed perished generations ago beneath the destroying hand of the

Turks, but many charming little oases of verdure still nestle in the hollows of the famous mountain range; and even the fierce Syrian sun can barely penetrate the great mass of dark, glossy foliage, amid which rise the white houses and tall tapering minarets of imperial Damascus.

The fact is, that here, as in Central Asia, all that is needed to repair the havoc of the past is a little care and irrigation. The native proverb that "wherever water runs, wood grows," is amply born out by the unsurpassed richness of the vegetation which clusters along even such tiny streams as the Kidron and the Abana. The prime cause of the desolation which has overwhelmed these once fruitful regions, is to be found in the wasteful barbarity of the old Mohammedan conquerors,* who by burning or cutting away the sheltering trees, left the soil unshielded from the scorching sun which speedily dried up its moisture. That moisture restored, and those trees replanted, the gorgeous imagery which depicted the wilderness as "blossoming like the rose," would be realized to the letter.

In a word, what is wanting to the Palestine of the present day is not capability of improvement, but security of life and property to the improvers. No one can reasonably expect that a man should devote himself, heart and soul, to a labor the fruits of which, as he well knows, he will never be permitted to enjoy; or that a population whose one absorbing thought is to escape starvation on the one hand, and scourge or scimitar on the other, should have much attention to spare for projects of culture and improvement. When some well-constituted government shall have superseded the organized brigandage of Turkey—when the native peasant can hope to reap the harvest which he has sown, and the native workman ply his trade unhaunted by the ever-present dread of plunder and outrage—then, and not till then, will the resources of that wonderful region, which seems endowed with a vitality as inextinguishable as that of its ancient possessors, be made fully manifest.

* This innate destructiveness of the Saracenic races is aptly expressed in the terse proverb, quoted to me by a French missionary amid the ruins of Carthage: "Arab H'arab" (the Arab is destruction).

We have still to consider the last and most frequently urged of our three objections, viz: that the difficulty of the scheme lies not so much in the character of the territory to be occupied, as in that of the men who are to occupy it. This assertion, bearing as it does more directly upon the subject in hand, merits a more detailed examination than its predecessors.

The arguments usually brought forward in support of the theory in question may be briefly stated as follows: It is a well-established fact that the wealthiest and most influential Jews—those, in short, by whose coöperation alone such a colossal enterprise could be achieved—are proverbial for the hard practicality of their disposition, and for a habit of looking at everything exclusively from a business point of view, and estimating all undertakings by the amount of personal advantage to be expected from them. The present position of the Jewish race is such as to give full scope for tastes and qualities of this kind. Hebrew capitalists stand at the head of national commerce in every country of Europe. More than 60,000 of them are established in New York alone. The growing wealth and population of Australia and the South American republics are offering fresh fields to their commercial enterprise, while the concession of political equality by the governments of Europe has opened to them such chances of power and profit as their forefathers never dreamed of. And now, it would seem, they are expected to abandon all this for the barren glory of repossessing a small tract of half-savage country in the far East, in compliance with a prophecy which most of them hold to be an absolute fiction, invented to flatter the national vanity of the race to which it was first promulgated. In other words, these shrewd, hard-headed men of business (most of whom are so prosperously established in the land of their adoption as to be Jews only in the name, and to care as little for Palestine and its Hebraic apotheosis as any Christian stock-broker with whom they deal) are to barter substance for shadow, solid advantages for intangible promises, a real and lucrative present for a distant and visionary future. Is such a thing reasonable? Is it probable? Is it even possible?

Here, fortunately, we are able to meet the objectors upon their own ground. According to them, the Jews embark in none but "paying" enterprises; the re-peopling of Palestine is not a "paying" enterprise, therefore they will not embark in it. The major premise of this syllogism may be correct enough, but the minor is as flagrantly erroneous as any statement can well be. The fact is that the project in question, however closely interwoven with national poetry and prophecy, holds out, in addition, as fair and full a promise of solid commercial gain as the most brilliant speculation in Wall Street—a fact which no one has recognized more thoroughly than the Jews themselves. This, it may be said, is mere assertion; but the proof is not far to seek. The "wealthiest and most influential" capitalist among the Jews of the last generation was the elder Rothschild, a man whom his bitterest enemy would not have dared to accuse of either patriotism or religion, and whose creed (so far as he can be said to have had any) might be summed up in a travesty of the old Mussulman formula: "There is no God but Mammon, and cent. per cent. is his profit." This man, such as we describe him, is well known to have made the most strenuous efforts to persuade the Turkish Government into concluding a bargain with him, by which the whole of Palestine would have become a *bonâ fide* estate of his own, to be managed, altered, and generally improved, as he might think fit. Tradition adds that the Sultan himself was quite willing to assent to the arrangement, though deterred from actually ratifying it by dread of the furious opposition which such a step would be certain to encounter at the hands of his bigoted subjects; but the events which have occurred since that offer was made will probably render the latter more compliant when it shall be repeated. In any case, a speculation upon which the keenest and hardest business man of the age was willing and even eager to hazard millions, can scarcely be pronounced altogether visionary and unprofitable.

Nor, indeed, is it so. It would be difficult to name any essential of commercial prosperity which Palestine does not possess. A central position, an ample seaboard, great natural resources, an eminently productive soil, the command of

several important commercial highways, a compact territory, a fine climate, an abundant supply of water-power—all are there. People such a region with the proverbial wealth and energy of the Jewish race, and its resurrection will be as sudden and astounding as that of the dry bones in the vision of Ezekiel.

To a certain extent, the experiment has already been tried with perfect success. In the early days of the Hebrew occupation, Palestine was very much what it is now—a scene of violence and misrule, where, in the words of the Jewish historians themselves, “every man did that which was right in his own eyes.” A few generations sufficed to change this lawless region into a well-ordered and flourishing State, which (lying between the Mediterranean and the valley of the Euphrates, and thus uniting in itself both the sea and land traffic of the East) became, under the peaceful rule of Solomon, the recognized centre of the world’s carrying trade. So manifest, indeed, was its fitness for this purpose, that Alexander the Great himself, with the ruthless foresight which characterized him, thought it necessary to supplement the utter destruction of Tyre by creating a new Tyre in Alexandria, and thus changing the whole current of Eastern commerce.

The ages which have elapsed since that time have increased rather than diminished the natural advantages of Palestine, the value of its geographical position having been enhanced by events of which neither Solomon nor Alexander ever dreamed. The Euphrates Valley, which borders it on the east, is about to become once more a great highway of the nations. The Mediterranean, which flanks it on the west, is furrowed in every direction by the steam-driven merchant navies of five great States, whose very names were unknown when Alexandria was founded. The Red Sea, which lies within easy reach of it to the south, is now (thanks to the genius of M. de Lesseps) the most important part of a continuous ocean-highway, linking the far East to the far West. On the north-west, again, lies England’s latest acquisition, the island of Cyprus, the annexation of which, if report speak truly, is shortly to be supplemented by that of one of the

nearest Levantine seaports (probably either Mersina or Alexandretta) and a construction of a railway thence, *via* Diarbekir and the head waters of the Euphrates, to the great emporium of Mosul on the Upper Tigris.

The small size of Palestine is frequently and most inconsistently dwelt upon by many objectors, who seem to forget that not a few of the smallest States in the world—Athens, for example, Holland, Venice, Switzerland, Great Britain—have proved themselves far superior, in all the arts both of peace and war, to the huge, unwieldy bulk of Persia, Russia, Austria, and sixteenth century Spain. In reality, these scanty limits, so far from being a drawback to the merits of Palestine, are one of its strongest recommendations. In this compact little country, with a mean breadth of sixty miles and an extreme length of four hundred, there are none of those vast distances to be traversed which impede the internal development of Russia. Two rides carry the traveller from the seaboard to the banks of the Jordan. The Russian and Austrian steamers which ply weekly between Constantinople and Alexandria, run the whole length of the Syrian coast in less than two days. A French diligence, crossing both ridges of the Lebanon, reaches Damascus daily from Beyrout in thirteen and a-half hours. To seam the entire surface of such a territory with railways and telegraphs * would be child's play for a generation which has bridged the whole American continent from sea to sea, cut through the Isthmus of Suez, and tunnelled Mont Cenis and the St. Gothard; and the railways of Palestine, when connected with the long-deferred Euphrates Valley line on one side, and that from the Tigris to Alexandretta on the other, would form a very important link in the ever-growing chain of Asiatic communications.

Not less palpable are the advantages conferred upon Palestine by the unusual length of her coast-line, which forms a full third of her entire circumference, and contains a proportionate number of available harbors. The great marts of Tyre and Sidon, indeed, have long since dwindled down to miserable

* Two telegraph lines are already in operation; the one from the port of Beyrout to Damascus, the other from that of Jaffa to Jerusalem.

fisher-hamlets; but their place is amply supplied by Latakia, Tripoli, Beyrout, Acre, Caiffa and Jaffa. Five of these six ports require nothing farther to fit them for all purposes of traffic; and although Jaffa labors under the double disadvantage of being an open roadstead and having its approach perilously obstructed by a sunken reef, its transformation into a safe and commodious harbor would be a light task compared with the blowing up of Hell-Gate, or the construction of the Port Said breakwater. All the above places are visited every week by French, Russian and Austrian steamers; and the establishment of direct communication with Cyprus (which is at present dependent upon the passing visits of the "Austrian Lloyd") may be expected to follow before long.

Nor would freight be wanting to these vessels, however numerous they might be, were Palestine once in the hands of able and enlightened men of business, instead of in those of brutal and ignorant robbers. With proper care and irrigation, the splendid though now neglected corn-lands of Judea, which in ancient times exported grain to every part of the Mediterranean seaboard, would do so once more. The annual yield of fruit would probably equal, if not actually surpass, that of either Sicily, Rhodes or Scio. The once famous manufacture of fine cloths and carpets, which formerly made the "Sidonian fabries" a household word from Syria to Spain, would revive upon its own ground. The tanneries of Joppa, some remains of which still linger in the very street where Simon Peter once lodged with his namesake of the guild, would speedily regain their ancient prosperity; and modern enterprise would quarry from the rocky hills of the interior the valuable materials which have lain concealed for ages. All that is needed to realize these great possibilities is capital in the first place, and labor in the second. The former, as we have seen, has already been offered; the latter has for years past been flowing into the country of its own accord, and will flow into it yet more rapidly in proportion to the measure of success and security which it may find there.

So much for the commercial resources of Palestine. With regard to her strategic capabilities, and her power of self-

defence in case of need, there can be still less question, or rather there can be none whatever. The country which, garrisoned by the same race that is one day to repossess it, more than once stood its ground for a considerable time against the whole strength of the Roman Empire, is no less defensible now than it was in the days of Josephus or of Bar-Cochba.* Both nature and art seem to have done their utmost to favor that stubborn tenacity of resistance against all odds, which made the sieges of Jotapata, Masada, and Jerusalem, a world-wonder eighteen centuries ago. Every town, every village, every hill-top, we might almost say every house, is a fortress in itself. Those who have seen the grim peak of Nebi Samuel, the terraced precipices that wall in the gorge of Abu-Gosh, or the tremendous cliffs which flank the narrow, tortuous bridle-path that leads downward from Jerusalem to the basin of the Dead Sea, can judge for themselves how formidably the strength of such positions might be increased by the resources of scientific fortification. Moreover, the limited area of the country would of itself enable its occupants, were their internal communications once complete, to transfer their troops from one frontier to the other, or to concentrate a preponderating force upon any important point, with a rapidity which no invader could hope to rival.

Nor is this Asiatic Switzerland less fully protected against an attack by sea, than against one by land. Its entire coastline is one chain of natural redoubts, almost as formidable as the grim fortresses of human workmanship which alternate with them every here and there. A few heavy guns planted upon the bold headland of Mount Carmel, and upon the other rocky heights that sentinel the coast, would work terrible havoc in a hostile fleet approaching from the west. Nor would the chances of a descent upon the seaboard be much more hopeful. Jaffa, with its narrow, breakneck streets rising

*This impostor (whose name signifies "Son of the Star") headed a formidable insurrection against the Emperor Adrian in the second century A. D., giving himself out as the Messiah. After a desperate and prolonged struggle, in which more than six hundred thousand men are said to have perished, the *soi-disant* Messiah fell at the storming of Bither, and his audacious scheme died within him.

one above the other along the steep rocky hill-side, has more than once offered a formidable resistance, even after its outer defences had been stormed; and the stern, gray, low-browed ramparts of Acre are still as ready to foil the efforts of any invader,* as when they foiled those of Napoleon himself, eighty-two years ago. Indeed, the great conqueror's persistent attempts to secure Palestine as a base of operations for his Oriental campaign in 1798, and his reiterated assertion that Sir Sidney Smith's repulse of his attack upon Acre was the stroke of ill-luck that made him "miss his destiny," are in themselves the strongest of all possible testimonies to the military value of the country. Such a region, manned by a race whose fighting power, at least, the most superficial reader of history can hardly venture to gainsay, would have little cause to fear any assailant upon earth.

It would be easy to multiply *ad infinitum* similar and even stronger evidences. But our *résumé* of the subject has already extended sufficiently far; and enough has been said, we trust, to make it clear that the confident belief of the outlawed race in their ultimate restoration to the land of their fathers, rests upon more durable grounds than the visions of fanatical zeal or of patriotic enthusiasm, and that modern facts and ancient prophecies alike point to the coming of a time when "Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely."

DAVID KER.

* Acre was captured by the English, however, during the war of 1840 with Mehemet Ali, a panic caused by the explosion of a great magazine having demoralized the Egyptian garrison.

ART. VIII.—THE INTELLECTUAL POSITION OF THE NEGRO.

1. *De la littérature des Nègres, ou Recherches sur leurs facultés intellectuelles, leurs qualités morales et leur littérature ; suivies de Notices sur la vie et les ouvrages des Nègres qui se sont distingués dans les Sciences, les Lettres et les Arts.* Par H. GRÉGOIRE, ancien Evêque de Blois, membre du Sénat conservateur, de l'Institut national, de la Société royale des Sciences de Göttingue, etc., etc. Paris : MDCCCVIII.
2. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* By THOS. JEFFERSON.
3. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by H. A. WASHINGTON. Washington : 1853.
4. *Antipathy to the Negro.* By JAMES PARTON, in *North American Review*. Nov.—Dec. 1878.

WHENEVER a dominant class seeks to justify by argument the persecution and ostracism which keep races in degradation and subjection, we invariably find a remarkable similarity in the methods of reasoning. The arguments by means of which a supposed antipathy against Negro, Irish or Israelite is supported all show the brand of the same manufactory. We find the inevitable *non sequitur*, special pleading; the same infelicity of illustration, unfair construction, disregard of reasons from the opponent's point of view, and a perversity of ideas joined to a persistence in statement which would seem effectually to obscure any attempt at illumination. Every species of fallacy seems instinctively sought after. Sophistries exploded so often as to appear ridiculous are summoned with unconscious gravity and paraded as new, valuable or irrefutable. It becomes quite an art, with defamers of race, as with those who despise a difference of creed or political opinion, to deduce conclusions from very scant data and point them with

an epigram. Rhetorical finish is exhibited where foundation is lacking, and damaging assertions are promulgated, not only without verification, but so easily controvertible by the mere novice that it would seem a waste of time to prove their untenable nature. *Ab uno disce omnes* is conclusive, and they carry around, like the heathen of old, a specimen brick of the house they wish to sell, the party they would destroy, the creed they would obliterate, or the race they would oppress. The sting is extracted, in a degree, from the attacks of these virulent partisans, by the fact, very significant to an impartial observer, that these writers and orators for the most part are not blest with cleverness either in correct statement or legitimate inference; and hence the value of their conclusions is not equal to the caustic grip of their pens or the intensity of their prejudices.

Writers of this class might as well at once plead guilty of hatred for an entire race, creed or party, as to profess partial sympathy, or discourage one phase of illiberality while opening wide the door for complete and utter disparagement.

It would be amusing, were it not painful, to observe how little even educated Americans, judging from articles in current literature, know of the capacity, disposition, achievements, services, or sacrifices of the Negro in general and the Negro-American in particular. At the outbreak of the war, Wendell Phillips outraged public sentiment by placing Toussaint L'Ouverture above Cromwell and Washington. The learned and philanthropic Mr. Livermore shocked still further people of tender sensibilities on the Negro question by elaborately proving* that we had taken part in every war, had furnished one of the earliest martyrs of the Revolution, and had our heroes at Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown.

The majority of American citizens were in like manner astounded in 1865, when Congressmen were idly discussing the right and propriety of giving the Negro the ballot, to find, through Judge Kelley's research, that not only negro men but negro women had voted in some of the original thirteen States on a property qualification; and had thus formed a part of

* *Negroes as Citizens and Soldiers.*

"We the People" who had made "a more perfect Union," and attempted "to secure the blessings of liberty" to themselves and their "posterity." There are, doubtless, many today who believe the Negro's valor and patriotism dates merely from the hour when he followed his fair-haired leader to the ramparts of Battery Wagner, or died with his face to the foe amid the merciless slaughter of Milliken's Bend, Fort Pillow and Port Hudson.

Mr. James Parton has written in the *North American Review* on *Antipathy to the Negro*, in a manner which illustrates in a marked degree most of the idiosyncracies of race criticism above referred to. The article was conceived, doubtless, with the kindest feelings toward our race. It shows traces of a practised hand, and is indeed much fairer in spirit than some others which have appeared in the same *Review* within two years on the Negro in politics, and displays more kindly consideration (did we need kindness so much as justice) than most Americans are inclined to accord to us. And yet Mr. Parton's treatment of this theme is so glaring an example of the prevalent inaccurate and hasty way of disposing of matters pertaining to the Negro and his interests in this country, that we shall venture to criticise him where he is at fault, analyze some of his general statements, and reply to certain deductions and conclusions apparently hastily drawn or erroneously applied.

It would be a difficult task, we apprehend, before an impartial tribunal, to assign a legitimate reason for the existence of the article under discussion.

The writer himself appears not to feel such an antipathy to us that it must need find expression; for his liberality is well known to those who have read his writings for the past fifteen years. Nor is there any apparent ground for its appearance because of any new or startling exhibitions of *antipathia* against us noticeable at the present time. No argument was needed to prove that there has been an unreasonable and unreasoning prejudice against negroes as a class, a long-existing antipathy, seemingly ineradicable, sometimes dying out it would appear, and then bursting forth afresh from no apparent

cause. If Mr. Parton means to assert that such prejudice is ineradicable, or is increasing, or is even rapidly passing away, then is his venture insufficient, because it fails to support either of these views. It does not even attempt to show that the supposed antipathy is general, for the author expressly, and, we think, very properly, relegates its exercise to those whom he calls the most ignorant,—the “meanest” of mankind.

If his intention was to attack a senseless antipathy, hold it up to ridicule, show its absurdity, analyze its constituent parts and suggest some easy and safe way for Americans to rid themselves of unchristian and un-American prejudices, then has he again conspicuously failed to carry out such purpose. He asserts the existence of antipathies, but only by inference does he discourage their maintenance, although on other topics he is rather outspoken whenever he cares to express his own convictions.

On this question Mr. Parton is, to say the least, vacillating, because he fails to exhibit any platform upon which we may combat those who support early prejudices and justify their continuance from the mere fact of their existence. We never expect Mr. Gayarré and Mr. Henry Watterson to look calmly and dispassionately at these questions from the Negro's point of view. The one gives us the old arguments of De Bow's *Review*, and the other deals out the *ex parte* views of the present leaders at the South.* The one line of argument has been answered over and over again by the old anti-slavery leaders; the pungent generalizations of the latter, the present generation of negroes can answer whenever the opportunity is afforded them.

But Mr. Parton was born in a cooler and calmer atmosphere,

*Ne jugeons pas une cause sur l'audition d'une seule partie. Un jour peut-être les Nègres écriront, imprimeront à leur tour, ou l'impartialité guidera la plume de quelque Blanc.—H. Grégoire. *Histoire de la Littérature des Nègres*, p. 74.

On a calomnié les Nègres, d'abord pour avoir droit de les asservir, ensuite pour se justifier de les avoir asservis, et parce qu'on était coupable envers eux. Les accusateurs, et simultanément juges et exécuteurs, et ils se disent chrétiens ! *Id.*, p. 104. [The notes throughout this article are literally quoted in their awkward and bad French.—ED.]

where men are accustomed to give a reason for the faith that is in them, and hence it is necessary, in opening any discussion such as he has provoked, that he should assign some ground of opposition or support—Christian, Pagan, utilitarian, constitutional, optimist, or pessimist.

The very apparent friendliness of his intentions makes even a legitimate conclusion from him seem mere conjecture, likely to be successfully controverted by any subtle thinker and opponent. No definite conclusion is, indeed, reached with regard to the first query (Jefferson's fourteenth) with which Mr. Parton opens his article: Whether the white and black races can live together on this continent as equals. He lets us see at the close, incidentally only, what his opinion is, and it inclines to the negative. But throughout the article he is in the anomalous and dubious position of one who opens a discussion which he cannot end, and the logical result of whose own opinion he dares not boldly state. The illustrations of the early opinions of Madison and Jefferson only show how permanent a factor the Negro is in American history and polity, and how utterly futile are all attempts at his expatriation. Following Mr. Parton's advice, the Negro has always prudently abstained from pitting "himself against inexorable facts." He is careful, however, to make sure of two things,—that the alleged facts are vortices and that they are inexorable. Prejudice we acknowledge as a fact; but we know that it is neither an ineradicable nor an inexorable one. We find fault with Mr. Parton because he starts a trail on antipathy, evidently purposeless, and fails to track it down either systematically or persistently, but branches off, *desipere in loco*, to talk loosely of "physical antipathy," meaning what we usually term natural antipathy; and at last, emerging from the "brush" where he has been hopelessly beating about from Pliny to Mrs. Kemble, he gains a partial "open" once more by asserting a truism—that it is the "ignorance of a despised class" (the lack of knowledge we have of them) which nourishes "these insensate antipathies." Here we are at one with Mr. Parton. Those who know us most intimately, who have associated with us in the nursery, at school, in college, in

trade, in the tenderer and confidential relations of life, in health, in sickness and in death, as trusted guides, as brave soldiers, as magnanimous enemies, as educated and respected men and women, give up all senseless antipathies, and feel ashamed to confess they ever cherished any prejudice against a race whose record is as unsullied as that of any in the land.

The weightiest argument with southern men, says Mr. Parton, against the two races living together as equals is the mental inferiority of the Negro.* Mr. Jefferson's opinion is cited as conclusive; and Mr. Parton adds the sanction of his calm judgment as to the fact, and, we assume, by consequence, to the conclusion.

Negroes and whites have lived together upon this continent for three hundred years as unequals. No insuperable antipathy has prevented a crossing of types and mingling of blood until a pure negro can scarcely be found except in the interior of Louisiana, South Carolina or Mississippi. As slaves we held the nearest and tenderest relations to the dominant class without any visible detriment on our part as yet observable, although pronounced "mentally inferior," until the dark current flows today strongly in many a cheek unconscious of its origin, and has aroused intellects which knew too well the secret of their imperious and uncontrollable power.† The moment, however, we are raised to the dignity of freemen, where manhood and intellectual worth, according to all ethics, political science and economy, are supposed to be enhanced, then we must be separated from those with whom we have lived so closely related, and with such assumed benefit, as slaves! These objections, whether coming from southern statesmen or northern casuists, would seem to warrant the suspicion that it is not so much the innate mental inferiority of the Negro

* "When the strong man has resolved to oppress the weak, it is easy to find a cause for his oppression, and give it an appearance of Justice."—Abbé MacGeoghegan. *History of Ireland*.

† "Tu t'asseyais sur le seuil de ta grotte resplendissante, les manches retroussées, la poitrine à l'air, le visage souriant; tu t'essayais le front; tu regardais les calmes étoiles en respirant la fraîcheur de la nuit; ou bien, tu te lançais sur la première porte venue, tu t'évadais comme un prisonnier; tu parcourais l'Océan, tu gravissais le Caucase, tu escaladais l'Etna, toujours quelque chose de colossal, et, les poumons remplis à nouveau, tu rentrais dans ta caverne."—*Dumas fils à Dumas père*.

which is dreaded, as a lurking thought that his present condition is after all merely the result of his circumstances and that, *ceteris paribus*, there is much cause to fear that the Negro may disprove many learned disquisitions, eloquent speeches and able reviews, if given equal opportunities, inspired by the air of freedom, and exalted to the complete dignity of an American citizen.

Few passages of any book have been more widely commented upon or used more extensively as texts for pro-slavery sermons and anti-abolition harangues than portions of the *Notes on Virginia*. As happens frequently with scriptural texts, the expounders have at times abridged or enlarged the text, sometimes consciously but quite as often through downright ignorance of what Mr. Jefferson did write. The same excited declaimers against negro equality have been heard to praise the Kentucky resolutions, which they had never read, speak approvingly of Jefferson's writing the phrase "All men are born free and equal," as if he did use such an untruth, and reach the climax of absurdity by showing what the author of the *Notes* thought of the Negro.

At the first appearance of Mr. Jefferson's book it became the target for hostile criticism, especially in France, where the author was so favorably known. The main line of objection was that the excerpts would be taken apart from the context and used to strengthen the arguments of those who upheld chattel slavery and were opposed to the "rights of man," and, indeed, would be carried farther than the author intended in denying the manhood and brotherhood of the Negro. The event proved the justness of the criticism. Even Mr. Jefferson was flattered by the attacks, and, with the pardonable pride of authorship, he assumed that the labors of the famous *Société Amis des Noirs* and particularly Abbé Grégoire's book were intended as replies to his strictures upon the Negro.

A writer in *Lippincott's Magazine* for November, 1878, in a rambling talk on the Negro, unconsciously repeats the dilutions of Mr. Jefferson's *Notes*. Prof. Winchell, in his recent work on *Preadamites*, raises Mr. Parton's deductions from Jefferson to the dignity of authority in matters of ethnological science!

Is it strange that we negroes are tempted to believe there are differences in intellects as well as differences in craniological development, when seven-storied skulls are satisfied with such arguments?

Mr. Parton will find that, as far back as 1829, the negro patriot, Walker, dared to reply to Mr. Jefferson and other contemners of our race, in an *Appeal to the Colored People* of the world and particularly to those of the United States. It is the best anti-slavery book published in America, with all its imperfections. Full of argument and quaint illustrations, it exhibits the negro character in a favorable light. Indignation, humor, sarcasm, intrepidity and keen argument abound in it, and Mr. Jefferson is so well answered that Walker needed not to call on the next generation for replies.* Walker was the precursor of William Lloyd Garrison, and the single volume of his *Appeal* anticipates every phillippic from the file of the *Liberator*. But Walker is not the only negro who has paid his respects to Mr. Jefferson, as Mr. Parton may discover by turning to the single volume of the *Anglo-African Magazine*, published in New York in 1859, by Dr. James McCune Smith, a graduate of Glasgow University, Scotland. In an article, scholarly, judicious and fair, he shows conclusively that a negro can reply to the strictures of the *Notes*, and do it in a gentlemanly manner.† Neither of the authors mentioned had probably ever seen a rare book‡ published in 1793 by

* "Mr. Jefferson's very severe remarks upon us have been so extensively argued upon by men whose attainments in literature I shall never be able to reach, that I would not have meddled with it, were it not to solicit each of my brethren, who has the spirit of a man, to buy a copy of Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, and put it into the hands of his son. For let no one of us suppose that the refutations which have been written by our white friends are enough—they are *whites*—we are *blacks*. We and the world wish to see the charges of Mr. Jefferson refuted by the blacks *themselves*, according to their chance; for we must remember that what the whites have written respecting this subject is other men's labours, and did not emanate from the black."—*Appeal to the Colored People*, Walker. Boston, September 28, 1829.

† "The question asked by Mr. Jefferson in his fourteenth query, would never have been propounded had he been acquainted with the philosophy of human progress. Instead of asking: How shall we get rid of them? Instead of affirming that they could never be safely incorporated in the state—had he possessed the insight or sagacity for which he is so celebrated, he would have welcomed their presence as one of the positive elements of natural progress."—Dr. James McCune Smith in *Anglo-African Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 237.

‡ *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.*

"George Imlay, Captain in the American Army during the late war, and Commissioner for laying out land in the back settlements."

In a series of letters written to a friend in England, one would scarcely expect to find an answer to Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Parton. For fear we may be accused of making a special plea, if we cite further the arguments of Walker and Smith, we shall venture to quote Captain Imlay, a contemporary of Mr. Jefferson, an officer possessed of facilities for observation in the field by no means inferior to those possessed by Jefferson at Monticello.

Mr. Jefferson says in the *Notes* :

"Comparing them (the blacks) by their faculties of memory, reason and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to the whites ; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid ; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation. We will consider them here, on the same stage with the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be found. It will be right to make great allowance for the influence of condition, education, of conversation, of the sphere in which they move. * * * Some have been liberally educated, and all have lived in countries where the arts and sciences are cultivated to a considerable degree, and have had before their eyes samples of the best works abroad. * * * But never yet could I find a black that had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration ; never see even an elementary trait of painting or sculpture. In music they are more generally gifted than the whites with accurate ears for tune and time, and they have been found capable of imagining a small catch. * * * Religion indeed has produced a Phillis Wheatley [Wheatley] ; but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism.* The heroes of the *Dunciad* are to her as Hercules to the author of that poem."—Vol. I, pp. 206 *et seq.*

In reply to this and other passages, too long for quotation, Captain Imlay rejoins :

"I have been ashamed in reading Mr. Jefferson's book to see from one of the most enlightened and benevolent of my country-

* An ungenerous insinuation, from one usually fair ; but a favorite sneer still kept up by those who doubt the Negro's capacity. It is so much easier to discredit originality than to prove it.

men, the disgraceful prejudices he entertains against the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common-sense an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that such cannot be the general sentiment of the people of America. * * * Can any position be more puerile and inconsistent? 'We will consider them on the same stage with the whites, and a comparison is not apocryphal.' Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and false than estimating or comparing the intellect or talents of two descriptions of men; one *enslaved, degraded and fettered in all their acts of volition without a vista through which the rays of light and science could be shot to illumine their ignorant minds*. The other free, independent, and with the advantages of appropriating the reason and science which have been the result of the study and labours of the philosophers and sensible men for centuries back. If there have been some solitary instances where negroes have had the advantages of education, they have shown that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great disadvantage of associating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that polish so essential to arrest admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to servility from the prevalence of manners. * * * But it is only necessary to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferson's argument to copy his own reflection. He asks 'if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be such by all nations? How many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and sciences had Europe, north of the Alps when the Romans crossed those mountains?' And then he says 'it was sixteen centuries before a Newton could be found.' And after asking these questions, he absurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to spring up like mushrooms. * * * 'Religion has produced a Phillis Whateley, but it could not produce a poet,' is another of Mr. Jefferson's dogmata. Phillis was brought from Africa to America, between seven and eight years of age, and without any assistance from school education, and before she was fifteen years old, wrote many of her poems. * * * I will transcribe a part of her poem on *Imagination*, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, of *estimating her genius and Mr. Jefferson's judgment*; and I think, without any disparagement to him, that by comparison Phillis appears much the superior. Indeed, I should be glad to be informed what white upon this continent has written more beautiful lines:

* Imagination! who can sing thy force?
Or, who describe the swiftness of thy course?
Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
Th' imperial palace of the thund'ring God,
We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,
And leave the rolling universe behind:

From star to star the mental optics rove,
 Measure the sky and range the realms above ;
 There in one view we grasp the mighty whole,
 Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded soul.
 Though winter frowns, to fancy's raptured eyes
 The fields may flourish and gay scenes arise ;
 The frozen deeps may burst their iron bands,
 And bid their waters murmur o'er their sands.
 Fair Flora may resume her fragrant reign,
 And with her flow'ry riches deck the plain ;
 Sylvanus may diffuse his honors round,
 And all the forest may with leaves be crown'd ;
 Show'rs may descend, and dews their gems disclose,
 And nectar sparkle on the blooming rose.'

"Mr. Jefferson has been equally severe upon Ignatius Sancho. But as I have not the honor to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho's writings, I shall conclude that the criticism is equally marked with prejudice. * * * But to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferson has remarked, 'That the Indian, with no advantage of education, is eloquent and ingenious,' without recollecting that the savage is free, while the poor African is enslaved ; though he allows that servitude destroys half the worth of the human soul." —Vol. I, pp. 182 *et seq.*

Neither this extract from Imlay, nor Mr. Parton's paraphrase of Jefferson's views gives, however, a perfectly impartial impression of that curious mind. Jefferson, judged by all he has said, is much more catholic and far less dogmatic than one would infer, judging merely from Captain Imlay's indignant rebuke or Mr. Parton's exceedingly scant interpretation. The Negro can afford to be just to a man of preëminent political shrewdness, of broad culture and an ardent appreciation of human liberty in the abstract, although the pernicious system which surrounded him and under which he was trained is responsible for much that is contradictory and erroneous in his writings. Let us hear what he has said before we hastily conclude that he despised the Negro, or despaired of his improvement. We may appeal from Jefferson as quoted by Mr. Parton, to Jefferson as pictured by himself. We shall see that he scarcely believed in the permanent inferiority of the Negro :

"Whether further observations will or will not verify the conjecture, that nature has been less bountiful to them in the endowments of the head, I believe that in those of the heart, she will be found to have done them justice.

"That disposition to theft with which they have been branded, must be ascribed to their situation, and not to any depravity of

the moral sense. The man, in whose favor no laws of property exist, probably feels himself less bound to respect those made in favor of others. When arguing for ourselves, we lay down as a fundamental principle, that laws, to be just, must give a reciprocation of right; that, without this, they are mere arbitrary rules of conduct, founded in force and not in conscience; and it is a problem which I give to the master to solve, whether the religious precepts against the violation of property were not framed for him as well as his slave; and whether the slave may not as justifiably take a little from one, who has taken all from him, as he may slay one who would slay him? That a change in the relations in which a man is placed should change his ideas of moral right and wrong, is neither new nor peculiar to the color of the blacks. * * * Notwithstanding these considerations, which must weaken their respect for the laws of property, we find among them numerous instances of the most rigid integrity, and as many as among their better instructed masters, of benevolence, gratitude, and unshaken fidelity.

*"The opinion, that they are inferior in faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the anatomical knife, to optical classes [glasses?], to analysis by fire, or by solvents. How much more then where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the senses; where the conditions of its existence are various and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent, bid defiance to calculation; let me add too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, where our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them. * * * I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion, only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."*
—Notes, pp. 211 et seq.

Mr. Parton, overlooking these views we must charitably suppose, assumes that there is "an inherent mental inferiority," and that "a fatal facility of imitation stands in the way" of our "interesting race." In nine lines he disposes of the Negro for ninety years, a decade to a line, and rashly says, "we cannot name one negro of pure blood who has taken the first, the second, the third, or the tenth rank in business, politics, art, literature, scholarship, science, or philosophy. To the present hour the negro has contributed nothing to the intellectual resources of man." In this short extract one may see the *rationale* of all attacks upon the Negro.

We shall endeavor to show that here are sweeping assertions, dubious or arbitrary standards of comparison, and an absolute ignorance of what the Negro has done, not creditable to an author of Mr. Parton's pretensions.

Mr. Jefferson invariably in the *Notes* uses the term "blacks" in a generic sense, just as the French abolitionists called themselves "*Amis des Noirs*," and as Walker, in his *Appeal*, speaks of "we the blacks." Mr. Jefferson never uses the word as distinguished from mulattoes or mixed bloods, and in the passage quoted, where he says that he never found "a black" who had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration, he referred to any descendant of the negro race. The caution of Mr. Parton, however, when about to apply Mr. Jefferson's remark and pronounce a confirmation of it, is especially worthy of notice. He is at pains to restrict the instances of capacity which might be adduced to those examples which he is pleased to term "pure blood," whatever that phrase may mean when applied to human beings. Not content with this unfair and doubtful restriction, he sets up an arbitrary standard of rank, *ipso jure*, and applies his ten-foot pole to the various departments of human activity, and then, probably feeling that he has well intrenched himself, challenges us to produce "one negro of pure blood" who has even reached the tenth rank in his self-graduated scale!

Before taking up this hasty challenge, some notice of Mr. Parton's estimate of Abbé Grégoire's book is necessary. We shall find here also typical treatment. He summarily disposes of the work: "Unfortunately, the bishop's book possessed no value, because he omitted to ascertain whether his literary negroes were of pure or mixed blood; and his desire to make out a case for the negro made him blindly credulous." He also assures us that he has "carefully looked over" Phillis Wheatley's poetry, and ranks it with Blind Tom's antics. He disparages Toussaint and Christophe. They are mere imitators of Napoleon. Assertions so direct and dogmatic would ordinarily appear authoritative, and one would be disposed to accept them as facts, did not Mr. Parton's "short method" with Jefferson incline us to examine a trifle closer the weight

of these assertions, to see what real value they may have in a calm, dispassionate discussion. The book is the test. It will show us whether Mr. Parton's sentence accords with the law and the evidence. If we shall find him at fault here, we may reasonably conclude that he is equally in error with regard to the position of the Negro for the last ninety years in America.

Fortunately there is before us, as we write, a copy of the original edition of the book. Its very title should have prevented Mr. Parton from treating it so cavalierly. A translation appeared in 1810, by D. B. Warden, Secretary of the American Legation at Paris. Mr. Warden was even more explicit in his title,* clearly stating what the abbé essayed to show. Whichever edition Mr. Parton examined before pronouncing his *dictum*, he is clearly at fault in imputing to the author any neglect to distinguish between pure negroes and mixed bloods. Mr. Jefferson was more careful. After reading the book, he contented himself with frankly acknowledging that a superiority of understanding did not justify slavery.

The copy before us has an additional and a peculiar value, because it is the gift of the abbé himself to President Jefferson. On the fly leaf are the compliments of the author: "*A Mr. Jefferson, Président des Etats-Unis, de la part de l'auteur.*"

The titles, then, of the original work and the translation show that the author carefully distinguished between blacks and mixed bloods, in making up his judgment. If any more complete statement from him were necessary, it can be found on page 190 of the French edition:

"Les écrivains nègres sont en plus grand nombre que les Mulâtres, et ils ont en général montré plus de zèle pour venger leurs compatriotes africains; on en verra des preuves dans les articles d'Amo, Othello, Sancho, Vassa, Cugoano, Phillis-Wheatley. Mes recherches m'ont mis à portée de faire connoître d'autres Nègres, dont quelques-uns n'ont pas écrit, mais à qui la supériorité de leurs talens et l'étendue de leurs connoissances ont acquis de la renommée; dans le nombre on trouvera seulement un ou deux Mulâtres."

* *An Enquiry concerning the intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes*: followed with an Account of the Life and Works of Fifteen Negroes and Mulattoes, distinguished in Science, Literature, and the Arts. By H. Grégoire, etc. Brooklyn, printed by Thomas Kirk, Main Street, 1810.

The dedication itself might have prevented Mr. Parton from so widely mistaking the purpose and scope of the book : — "To all the brave men, who have pleaded the cause of the unfortunate Blacks and Mixed-bloods, either by writing or speech, in political assemblies, in societies established for the suppression of the slave-trade, the relief and emancipation of the slave."*

Grégoire guards himself particularly against exaggeration, while speaking in behalf of the Negro. Although he appears as the special advocate of the oppressed, he never allows sympathy, facts, or authorities to warp his judgment or sense of fairness :

"Gardons-nous cependant d'une exagération insensée qui chez les Noirs voudroit ne trouver que des qualités estimables ; mais nous autres Blancs, avons-nous droit d'être leurs dénonciateurs ? Persuadé qu'il faut très-rarement compter sur la vertu et la loyauté des hommes, quelle que soit leur couleur, j'ai voulu prouver que les uns ne sont pas originairement pires que les autres."—p. 127.

He does not fail to notice Mr. Jefferson's views in the *Notes*, and we negroes may be pardoned for thinking that he turns the argument quite skilfully against one whom he evidently regards with esteem.† His researches are naturally

* By a strange oversight, several eminent names of persons to whom the book is dedicated are omitted in the American translation. Among others we notice Jefferson, William Pinkney, Fernando Fairfax, Alexander McLeod, Magaw, Mifflin, Mitchell, and Vining.

† "Il est fâcheux de trouver le même préjugé chez un homme dont le nom ne se prononce parmi nous qu'avec une estime profonde, et un respect mérité ; c'est Jefferson dans ses *Observations sur la Virginie*. Pour étayer son opinion, il ne suffisoit pas de ravalier le talent de deux écrivains nègres ; il falloit établir par les raisonnemens et des faits multipliés, que, dans des circonstances données, et les mêmes pour des Blancs et des Noirs, ceux-ci ne pourroient jamais rivaliser avec ceux-là. . . . Au reste, Jefferson lui-même fournit des armes pour le combattre dans sa réponse à Raynal, qui reprochoit à l'Amérique de n'avoir pas encore produit des hommes célèbres. Quand nous aurons existé, dit le savant Américain, en corps de nation aussi long-temps que les Grecs, avant d'avoir un Homère, les Romains un Virgile, les Français un Racine, on sera en droit de montrer de l'étonnement : de même pouvons-nous dire, quand les Nègres auront existé dans l'état de civilisation aussi long-temps que les habitans des Etats-Unis, avant de produire des hommes tels que Franklin, Rittenhouse, Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Monroe, Warren, Rush, Barlow, Mitchel, Rumford, Barton, le Virginien, qui fait l'*English* [British] *Spy*, l'auteur de l'adresse aux armées à la fin de la guerre de la révolution, qu'on a surnommé le *Junius* Américain, etc., etc., et trente autres que je pourrais citer, on aura quelque droit de croire qu'il y a chez les Nègres absence totale de génie."—*De la Lit. Nègres*, pp. 36-39.

prior to 1808. He confines himself to no one country, nor to any particular tribe or complexion of negroes. In every instance, he expressly states whether the individual was a pure black or of mixed blood. This is done, we suppose, out of deference to that assumption, still devoutly believed, that mixed bloods owe their asserted superiority to the predominance of intellect in the white parent. The ablest minds in France, Germany, and England aided him in compiling his work. By correspondence with scientists, philanthropists, educators, travellers, statesmen, and clergymen, he verified all his statements, and hence the book, so far from being valueless, is especially valuable, as showing from trustworthy data what the negroes have done in the past,—intellectual achievements which are not hidden in a corner, but known and appreciated at their full value by all fair, honest, and unprejudiced minds who desire to read them. For the purpose of showing that we have not overvalued the examples given, we shall condense a few instances, all pure blacks, from which any one may see how trustworthy a guide our good abbé is :

Higiemundo, an artist mentioned by Joachim de Sandrart, in *Academia nobilissimæ artis pictoriæ, Norimbergæ, 1683*, ch. xv, p. 34. In this work, Higiemundo is called *clarissimus* by Sandrart, who considers himself happy in having some good pictures of his, but we do not know at what time he lived.

Antony William Amo, born in Guinea, was brought to Amsterdam while very young, in 1707. He studied at Halle, in Saxony, and at Wittenberg. In the former university, under the Chancellor de Ludwig, he maintained a thesis and published a dissertation, *De Jure Maurorum*, 1729. Amo was skilled in astronomy, and spoke Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Dutch and German. In an announcement, published by the Dean of the Philosophical Faculty, this learned negro is said to be, *Excussis tam veterum quam novorum placitis, optima quæque selegit, selecta enucleate ac dilucide interpretatus est*. Having taken his doctor's degree at Wittenberg, he maintained

* In Warden's translation, the life of Higiemundo is mistranslated, incorrectly punctuated, and an important part of it is omitted.

in 1794. The work is written with simplicity, and a crudeness of style similar to that of Daniel De Foe, in *Robinson Crusoe*. His son became assistant-librarian to Sir Joseph Banks and Secretary of the Vaccination Committee.

J. E. J. Capitein was born in Africa, an unmixed negro, and brought at the age of eight to Europe. Baptized and trained, he went to Holland, where he learned Dutch, and betook himself to painting, for which he appears to have had great talent. Mlle. Roscam taught him Latin and the rudiments of Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee. From the Hague he went to the University of Leyden, and studied theology, under skilful professors, intending to return to his own country to carry the true faith to his heathen brethren. He took his degree, and was sent as a missionary in 1742 to Elmina in Guinea. His first work was an elegy in Latin, on the occasion of the death of Manger, Minister at the Hague—his master and friend:

ELEGIA.

Invida mors totum vibrat sua tela per orbem;
Et gestit quemvis sucubuisse sibi.
Illa, metûs expers, penetrat conclavia regum;
Imperiiq[ue] manu ponere sceptrâ jubet.
Non sinit illa diù partos spectare triumphos;
Linquere sed cogit, clara tropœa duces.
Divitis et gazas, aliis ut dividat, omnes,
Mendicique casam vindicat illa sibi.
Falce senes, juvenes, nullo discrimine, dura,
Instar aristarum, demittit illa simul.
Hic fuit illa audax, nigro velamine tecta,
Lamina Mangeri sollicitare dômus.
Hujus ut ante domum steterat funesta cypressus,
Luctisonos gemitus nobilis Haga dedit.
Hunc lacrymis tinxit gravibus carissima conjux,
Dum sua tundeat pectora sæpe manu.

When Capitein entered Leyden, he published a dissertation on the "Calling of the Gentiles" (*De vocatione Ethnicorum*). He also composed a politico-theological dissertation to show that slavery was not opposed to evangelical liberty. This brought down many anathemas upon his head, and was naturally looked upon as an extremely unorthodox proceeding

on the part of the negro. This dissertation in Latin* Grégoire thinks rich in erudition, but very poor in argument. It was translated into Dutch by Wilhelm, and reached a fourth edition. His sermons were thought worthy of publication.

Francis Williams, a Jamaica negro, was graduated from Cambridge University, England; he was a skilful maker of Latin verse, and distinguished himself in mathematics. Cutting loose from mere imitation, he dared to dub his muse, *Nigerrima*. Long, the historian of Jamaica, sneeringly calls Williams' muse "Madame Ethiopissa." Williams became a successful teacher among his race, and has left several specimens of Latin versification, among them an ode, addressed to George Haldane, Governor of Jamaica.†

Mmadi-Maké (Angelo Soliman), another native African, well known to Gall, the phrenologist, is an eminent example.‡ He learned to write German in seventeen days, and soon made rapid strides in all branches of study. He became, after many adventures which Grégoire relates, the tutor of the young Louis of Lichtenstein, where he lived in seclusion in the palace, coming occasionally into the society of his friends and learned men, and giving himself over to the pursuit of belles-lettres, which he assiduously cultivated. His favorite study was history. An excellent memory greatly aided him in this. He could quote names, dates, years of birth of distinguished men, and occurrence of principal events. He knew six languages, Italian, French, German, Latin, Bohemian, English, and he spoke with particular purity the first three. His engraved portrait hangs in the gallery of Lichtenstein, at Ausburg.

It would seem almost a superfluous effort to reply at this late day, after Miss Martineau's novel and Wendell Phillips' masterly oration, to any criticism on the valor, statesmanship, clemency or virtues of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Men whom he

* *Dissertatio politico-theologica de servitute libertati christianæ non contraria, quam sub præside J. Van der Honert, publicæ disquisitioni subjicit, J. E. J. Capitein, afer, in 4^o, Lugduni Batavorum; 1742.*

† Rev. R. B. Nicols, Dean of Middleham, on hearing this ode read, said: "I have heard the colonists compare negroes to monkeys, but I never heard of an ourang-outang composing odes."

‡ We find no account of Soliman in Warden's translation.

conquered bear witness to his humanity, bravery, and pre-science. He did intimate Napoleon, but not in his wicked ambition. This *First of the Blacks* sought freedom for his native land by the sword, because it was necessary, and he preserved that freedom when won, in a manner which compares favorably with any ruler of ancient or modern times. The only reproach heard in Hayti, today, against him, is that he trusted, fatally to himself, disastrously for his State, the honor of the white race.

Dessalines, the blood-thirsty Napoleon in fact, of Hayti, is the hero in that island whose lurid fame eclipses the milder light of the truer hero and martyr. The leader of the only race in history that, unaided and against triple odds, achieved and has thus far maintained its freedom and independence, deserves praise, rather than a sneer, from an impartial observer. Africans scarcely two generations removed from the jungle are poor material to withstand the armies of France, Spain, and England; but they did it, and their fame cannot be obscured by a sneer.

M. Grégoire amply meets such objectors, and, to prove himself no mere partisan, quotes from *Réflexions sur l'état actuel de la colonie de Saint-Domingue*, by Vincent.

"Toussaint, à la tête de son armée, se trouve l'homme le plus actif et le plus infatigable dont on puisse se faire une idée. L'on peut rigoureusement dire qu'il est partout où un jugement sain et le danger lui font croire que sa présence est nécessaire. Le soin particulier de toujours tromper sur sa marche les hommes mêmes dont il a besoin, et auxquels on croit qu'il accorde une confiance qui n'est cependant à personne, fait qu'il est également attendu tous les jours dans les chefs-lieux de la colonie. Sa grande sobriété, la faculté donnée à lui seul de ne jamais se reposer, l'avantage qu'il a de reprendre le travail du cabinet après de pénibles voyages, de répondre à cent lettres par jour, et de laisser habituellement cinq secrétaires, en font un homme tellement supérieur à tout ce qui l'entoure, que le respect, la soumission pour lui vont jusqu'au fanatisme dans le très-grand nombre de têtes. L'on peut même assurer, qu'aucun individu aujourd'hui n'a pris sur une masse d'hommes ignorans le pouvoir qu'a pris le général Toussaint sur ses frères."—pp. 102-104.

This portrait, drawn by a hostile hand, may serve to depict the lineaments of an Alexander, a Hannibal, or a Caesar, as well

as the French despot who imitated these ancients. From Vincent we learn that Toussaint had a wonderful memory, that he was a good father and husband, and that his civic qualities were as pronounced as his political life was wise and blameless. So much could not be said truthfully of Napoleon.

Jasmin Thounmazeau, an African, born in 1714, was sold to Saint Domingo, 1736. He obtained his freedom in 1756. He established a hospital on the Gold-Coast with his own wealth, and became a philanthropist among his race. For forty years he and his wife maintained this charity for unfortunate negroes and mulattoes. Medals were decreed him by the Philadelphia Society at the Cape, and from the Agricultural Society at Paris.*

Don Juan Latino, who lived to be 117 years old, a negro, taught the Latin language at Seville in 1717.†

Ignatius Sancho, a native of Guinea, had a romantic career. The story of his life demonstrates the Negro's claim to humanity, and evinces rare capacity. He loved study, the theatre and women, and was, like many geniuses, addicted to gambling, until he fell into the hands of an Israelite sharper who won all his clothes. He tells quaintly how he spent his last shilling to hear Garrick, at Drury Lane. He afterwards became a friend of that actor. Fired with the desire to shine on the stage, he was ambitious to play the part of Othello and Oronoko; but a faulty articulation prevented his success. His letters abound in witty and moral reflections, and there is at times a peculiar sense of humor in them. Gainsborough painted his portrait and Bartolozzi engraved it. He was an earnest advocate of the freedom of his race, imitated the poets, wrote two plays and a poem, and discussed theories of music in a pamphlet dedicated to the Princess Royal. Mortimer thought him worthy to be consulted in art matters, and his vivacity, good taste and fund of information made him an agreeable companion. Grégoire defends him from the reproach of Jefferson, of giving too loose a rein to an imagination whose course is eccentric, like a meteor's flight through the firmament. Even Jefferson accords to him an easy style and thinks his writings contain

* *De la Littérature des Nègres*, p. 124.

† *Ib.*, p. 179.

tender sentiments. Grégoire defends Sancho, comparing him with Madame de Sévigné, and asserting that such letters as theirs cannot be analyzed.

Sancho's epistolary style is said to resemble that of Sterne, with whom he corresponded.* Writing to the latter, he tells him, "How very much, good sir, am I (amongst millions) indebted to you for the character of your amiable Uncle Toby; I declare, I would walk ten miles in dog-days to shake hands with the honest corporal." Sterne's reply, sentimental as usual, may be found in the third volume of his published correspondence.†

"Young's *Night Thoughts*, Milton, and Thomson's *Seasons*," writes Sancho, "were my Summer companions for nearly twenty years; they mended my heart, improved my veneration to the Deity, and increased my love to my neighbour." Again: "I say nothing upon the score of religion; for I am clear, every good affection, every sweet sensibility, every heart-felt joy, humanity, politeness, charity—all, all are streams from that sacred spring; so that to say you are good-tempered, honest, social, etc., etc., is only in fact saying you live according to your divine Master's rules." Amid deep religious reflections he is sometimes very droll: "Glancing over these past years, I near the close of my career. Have I not the gout, six children and a wife? O, reason, where art thou? Thou seest how easier it is to preach than to act: but since we are able to distinguish good from evil, let us arm ourselves against vice."

While Mr. Jefferson was writing his *Notes* and propounding his "Queries", the fame of a negro of Alexandria had crossed the sea and was elaborately commented upon in the salons of Paris, the sage of Monticello being ignorant of his existence. Thomas Fuller was born in Africa, and brought a slave to Alexandria in Virginia, where he is still remembered as a mathematical prodigy. He could neither read nor write, but easily performed the most abstruse mathematical calculations.

* *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African, etc., to which are prefixed Memoirs of his life.* 2 vols., 8vo., London, 1782.

† *Letters of the Rev. Laurence Sterne.* 3 vols., 8vo., London, 1775.

tions. He was asked, as a test, how many seconds a man had lived who was seventy years, seven months and seven days old. He gave the correct answer in a minute and a half. One of his interlocutors, taking a pen, pretended to go through the operation, and after a long calculation asserted that Fuller's answer was wrong, being too great a number. "No," said the black, "the error is on your side, because you have forgotten the leap years." Dr. Rush gives an account of Fuller in the fifth volume of the *American Museum*. Brissot met him while travelling in Virginia, and testifies to his ability.*

These are a few examples of pure negroes treated of in the book which possess "no value" in the judgment of Mr. Parton, on account of its lack of discrimination. It was strong enough, however, to silence, if it failed to convince, Mr. Jefferson. Nearly all of the names cited are fortified by the authorities from which the abbé has derived his facts. Books, laws, acts, histories, names are quoted in detail, so that no phase of the intellectual, physical and moral condition of the negro is left without suitable treatment.†

It is true, all the examples mentioned are cases of imitation. They have imitated the manifestations of intellect observable in Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, wherever they have been placed. But they have only imitated the imitators, those who have patterned after the incomparable models handed down to us from the earliest epochs of Greece and Rome. The Negro, moreover, has a share in the inheritance, for he remembers that Athens and Rome borrowed what they did not steal from Egypt, where Pythagoras and Plato and Herodotus went for wisdom, and that Egypt, renowned still though dead, obtained the genius of her philosophy, her religion and art from Nubia and Abyssinia. They tread on dangerous ground, in the light of the revelations of modern eth-

* Brissot. *Voyages*, Tome II, p. 2.

† "I have had an opportunity of conversing on the subject with Bonn of Amsterdam, who has the finest collection of human skulls known; with Blumenbach, who has, perhaps, the richest collection of human skulls; with Gall, Meiners, Osiander, Cuvier, Laccépède; and I take this occasion to thank those learned men. All, with a single exception who dared not to decide, all, like Buffon, Camper, Stanhope-Smith, Zimmerman and Somering, admit the unity of the primitive type in the human race."—p. 33.

nology and archæological science, who trace back too confidently to their honored ancestors, and display too conspicuously treasures from the ancestral chests. * We have Herodotus † for our authority that some of the Egyptians and Colchians were black of skin and of woolly hair.

If Mr. Parton and those who think with him doubt the fact of the Negro's claim to antiquity and intellectuality, let them read the simple story as told ‡ by the present Liberian Minister at the Court of Saint James, Edward W. Blyden, probably the ablest negro writer and most critical philologist in the world, a skilled diplomat and a deeply-read Sanskrit scholar. If additional proof be required, it may be found by Mr. Gayarré, Mr. Watterson and Mr. Parton, in the recent masterly essay of Canon Rawlinson, § and also in that significant passage in the *Five Great Monarchies*: "For the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; but it was otherwise in the first ages. Egypt and Babylon, Mizraim and Nimrod, both descendants of Ham, led the way, and acted as pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature and science. Alphabet, writing, astronomy, history, chemistry, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem all of them to have had their origin in one or other of those two countries. * * * The inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race, and mankind at the present day lies under infinite obligations to the genius of these early ages."

Hence, we are not inclined to accept it as a truism, though coming from so high an authority as Mr. Parton, that "a facility of imitation" is fatal to our race. Keener students of metaphysics and closer observers of the processes of mental development in the infancy and childhood of nations have led us to believe that, next to memory, the power of imitation is

* "We owe our arts and sciences and even the very use of speech, to the race of Negroes."—Volney. *Voyages en Syrie et en Egypte*, Tome I.

† Herodotus, Lib. II.

‡ "The Negro in Ancient History." *Methodist Quarterly Review*, January, 1869.

§ *Princeton Review*, December, 1878.

almost the *sine quâ non* of permanent intellectual success. To an enslaved or proscribed race, cut off from all its own traditions, imitation becomes what judgments are in processes of reasoning, the conditions precedent from which and through which the third thing—knowledge, invention, thought—whatever we may term it, must be evolved.

Mr. Jefferson's fame will rest long on the sublime truism which illumines and interprets the Declaration,—that "All men are created equal." But Helvetius put this phrase into the mouths of the French revolutionists from whom Jefferson clearly borrowed it. Helvetius drew it forth from that inexhaustible armory of human wisdom and political rights, the *Civil Law*,* and Ulpian, doubtless, cribbed it from Zeno.†

Shall we mention Virgil's imitation of Homer, Dante of Virgil, and Milton of all three; Tennyson of Theocritus, the French dramatists of Plautus and Terence, modern orators of the ancients? Serious mention would be too trite for readers who are already familiar with the readiness with which want of originality, imitation and plagiarism may be charged, especially by those in whom originality and invention have never been particularly noticeable.

If, indeed, there be anything new in mind, morals or human activity, uncompounded from the old material, to which races high or low in the scale of human improvement are not equally entitled, then is the inspired Preacher a false guide, who assures us that "The thing that hath been, it is the thing which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the sun. Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new? it hath been already of old time which was before us."

Under such view the entire experience of modern thought and science is completely in error, and Mr. Parton must evolve a new theory of development. Abbé Grégoire's book contains no special or distorted plea. He is far more accurate, discriminating and judicious than his accuser. With the enthusiasm of an advocate who believes he is arguing a righteous cause, he blends the calmness and impartiality of the judge who aims solely at the truth:

* Ulpian's *Digest*. Lib. II, 1-4.

† Diogenes Laertius. *Zeno*.

"I took upon myself," he says, "the duty of proving that negroes are capable of virtues and have talent. I have established this by argument; still further by facts; these facts do not proclaim sublime discoveries; these works are not master-pieces; but they are arguments to which the traducers of the negro cannot reply. I shall not say with Helvetius, all are born equal, and that man is only the result of education; but this assertion, false in its generalization, is true in many respects. A conjunction of fortunate circumstances developed the genius of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Liebnitz and of Newton. Unfortunate chances have, perhaps, taken away the light from geniuses who had surpassed these. Each State has its Boeotia, but in general it may be said that vice and virtue, intelligence and ignorance, genius and dullness pertain to every country, nation, cranium and complexion. In order to compare races they should be placed in similar conditions. What equality of condition can be established between the white people, illuminated by the light of Christianity which brings almost all others in its train, enriched by discoveries, environed by the learning of ages, stimulated by every means of encouragement; and, on the other hand, the blacks, deprived of all these advantages, devoted to oppression and misery? If no one of them had proved his capacity, there ought to be no astonishment at it: it is worthy of note that so great a number have displayed any. What indeed would they be if, exalted to the dignity of free men, they occupied the position nature assigned them and tyranny refuses them. * * * May European nations at last atone for their crimes against the African! May the Africans, raising their humiliated brows, put spur to every faculty, to rival the whites only in ability and virtue, forgetting the crimes of their persecutors, avenge themselves only by kindly deeds, and, in the outbursts of brotherly kindness, taste at last liberty and happiness—although here below one can only dream of those things for himself—it is, at least, consoling to carry to the grave the assurance that he has labored with all his strength to procure them for others."—pp. 279-281; 284-285.

Having shown that Mr. Parton must not be too implicitly followed when he quotes from others, and that his judgment on books should be received with much reservation, in a subsequent article we shall endeavor to prove that he is not a very trustworthy authority as to what the Negro has done during the *past ninety years*; and that a number of Negro-Americans have attained considerable reputation even in America, on account of their talents, virtues, services and abilities, notwithstanding the illiberal prejudice, the prevailing ostracism and the lack of opportunity afforded us to demonstrate our claim to humanity.

R. T. GREENER.

ART. IX.—WILLIAM BLACK'S NOVELS.

1. *A Daughter of Heth.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1871.
2. *A Princess of Thule.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1874.
3. *Madcap Violet.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1877.
4. *Macleod of Dare.* By WILLIAM BLACK. New York: 1878.

"THAT any human being after having made such a joke," says Macaulay with characteristic energy, in commenting upon Southey's attempts at humor, "should write it down, and copy it out, and transmit it to the printer, and correct the proof sheets, and send it forth into the world, is enough to make us ashamed of our species." *Mutatis mutandis*, to how many modern novelists is not this strictly applicable! And yet there are legions of our fellow-creatures to be found at present engaged in this curious employment, and, stranger still, myriads of sadly patient readers plunge blindly after them into these cheerless bogs of folly, complaining bitterly of their self-appointed task, yawning over it, sighing at it, yet nevertheless, more resolute than the Italian criminal, who after a fair trial preferred the galleys to Guicciardini, plodding drearily on to the end. And this too, when, in default of better, fairy tales and nursery legends, not at all less possible and far more entertaining, are within their reach.

Indeed, in glancing over the work of these writers, there is a constantly recurring wonder at the consummate skill with which they contrive to unite so much dulness with so much extravagance. Since they are controlled neither by the laws of nature nor of art and restrained within the limits neither of what is conceivable morally nor of what is possible physically,

by what strange fatality is their uniform tediousness to be accounted for? One instinctively recalls the traveller in *Victorian Grey*, of whom it is so curtly said that "though a great liar he was a dull man."

Nevertheless, there is scarcely anything without its redeeming element, and we have it here in the well-known effect of contrast. If, in the midst of volume after volume of insipid commonplace or tame extravagance of descriptions that are like nothing in the "visible diurnal sphere," and characters that it would be a high compliment to liken to the nondescript monster of Horace's ideally bad poet, we light upon a work that contains faithful descriptions of scenery, life-like representations of human beings, artistic development of plot, or even an interesting story clearly and simply told, we are startled by the very completeness of our surprise into a more enthusiastic admiration, a keener relish than we would otherwise have felt.

If the relief, the contrast thus afforded by the presence of a single one of these merits is sufficient in the first moments of delighted astonishment to unsettle somewhat the balance of our judgment, it behooves us to be strictly on our guard against their continued effect as found in some of the novels which we owe to the writer whose name stands at the head of this article. We say "some" advisedly, because this high praise is, in our judgment, due to only a few among his works, the others descending through varying degrees of excellence almost to the level of the average novel of the day. It is to these few, as alone worthy of serious or minute examination, that we propose to devote the larger portion of our present space.

Indeed, one of the first reflections to occur in comparing this writer with himself is the singular disparity between his different productions. His best rank just below the masterpieces of English fiction; his worst are really not worth the trouble of ranking at all. In his happier moments, when he writes from genuine inspiration, he gives us gems of art; at other times he produces what are called by painters mere "pot-boilers," and if they have served their useful but homely purpose their success has been at least equal to their merits. This

strange inequality of performance is characteristic of genius of a certain kind, and in the best of Mr. Black's writings there are unmistakable traces of real genius. Writers of this class can not work well unless the fit is on them, and, strangely enough, they do not seem always to know themselves when the fit is on them.

It belongs also to this side of Mr. Black's intellect, that, namely, by which he claims kindred with genius, that his best work, whatever its faults or shortcomings, is eminently original. We never have, with regard to this, the feeling which is apt to mar our thorough enjoyment of even the finest pieces of imitative writing—the provoking consciousness of having gone over it all before, the sometimes actually painful effort to trace up and recollect where we last met these old friends whose new costumes and altered coloring, though they may puzzle for a time, can not long succeed in deceiving us as to their identity.

If, on the other hand, this original and peculiar vein induces a proneness to repetition, or rather to returning again and again to certain lines of thought, this very monotony possesses a charm of its own, acquires for sympathetic readers a kind of *pretium affectionis*, if we may borrow a term from grave legal phraseology. And then, the life, the heartiness, the flavor which accompany it are incomparable merits. The reader can not choose but fall to with a zest unconsciously caught from the writer's own *verve*, freshness and genuine interest in his work.

It is the *si vis me flere* of the actor transferred to the "teller," the old Greek "maker," whether his story be in prose or rhyme. When he wishes us to believe in and care for and feel with the characters to whom he introduces us, he believes in and cares for and feels with them himself. When he paints for us some lovely or terrific aspect of nature, and bids us admire it, nay, see it and feel it with him, it is first really and vividly present to his own eyes. He has not painfully wrought himself up to enthusiasm; his whole being is alive to, is thrilling with, the mystic influences of the Mighty Mother. By reason of this, Mr Black has produced some of the very finest pieces of prose description in the language, description

such as we are not surprised to be told has won delighted recognition from an artist like Swinburne. To find, indeed, anything very far superior to his best passages in this kind, we must leave prose altogether and go to Scott, or, still higher, to the greatest master of concise and powerful word-painting in English or perhaps in any literature, to Childe Harold himself.

This is Mr. Black at his best, but, doubtless in spite even of the *pretium affectionis*, there are times when he injures the impression by too frequently recurring to the same idea and even to the same form of words, until what we once admired ends at length by producing an almost ludicrous effect.

Yet, when full allowance has been made for all drawbacks, it is impossible to read one of these Hebridean sketches without the most vivid sense of having been transported into a new and strange world, full of life, freshness and vigor, irresistibly attractive to the imagination whether in its sombre grandeur, or in its clear, cold, glittering brightness. Henceforth this region belongs of right to him. Let no other presume to set foot upon the territory which he has so royally made his own, unless indeed he be a born poet, of the race of the Immortals, to whom no limits of time and space apply. And as of the country, so of the inhabitants. They are breathing human beings, original, far removed from the common track of life, strange in many ways to our experience, yet withal not unnatural, nor improbable. On the contrary, far as we are divided from them in surroundings, in modes of life and thought, in all that is accidental and unessential, an instinctive recognition of their common human nature with ourselves at once makes us feel akin to them. There is the strange something which any man can feel, which no man can define, that constitutes the difference between names and things, realities and shams, living men and women and the choicest of Mme. Tussaud's wax figures.

And herein may be found one of the most striking merits, as well as one of the healthiest influences of these novels. They introduce us into a fresh, unconventional, inartificial life, the furthest possible removed from that which prevails at the great centres of our modern civilization. It can hardly be

denied, that, whatever benefits may have accrued from our increased and increasing means of intercommunication, they have brought with them one great peril at least, in the monotony, the uniformity, the dead level of commonplace, resulting from a lack of striking contrast and opposition. There seems to be real danger that the world, that is, the civilized part of it, will come in process of time to present the aspect of a vast Russian steppe, without a single elevation or depression, a contrast of light and shade, a break in the dreary monotony of coloring to relieve the eye.

Now, however vast the sphere through which it extends, this is essentially narrow and narrowing, and all that tends to counteract it by introducing to us different modes of life and habits of thinking, new standards and ideals, is most valuable as a corrective. And where can this much-needed corrective be found in a shape more potent or more attractive than in those of our author's novels in which he transports us to the wild and desolate regions of the Scottish coast, as yet almost untouched by the hand of civilization?

This new and rich vein which was to prove gold of the purest standard, he first opened in *A Daughter of Heth*, which was published anonymously in 1871. And here, as it seems to us, after duly weighing the merits of its possible rivals, is the very gem of the whole collection, the finest piece of work Mr. Black has ever done. Coquette seems not to have been constructed, but to have grown up spontaneously out of her creator's own nature, as Goethe has told us was the case with his female characters. She combines two eminent merits, rare in themselves, rarer still in their union; she is at once life-like and original. She is as individual, as much herself, and no other, as any of our ordinary, every-day acquaintance, and yet she is not commonplace, but on the contrary, strikingly unlike the level of average humanity.

A single character of this sort would suffice to leaven a whole book, and to float the usual number of insipid accessories. But in *A Daughter of Heth*, the heroine, though the *chef-d'œuvre* of the work, is by no means the exclusive object of interest. The whole family into which she is introduced are admirably

sketched, while the Whaup and his father are portraits of peculiar merit. Such excellence may well obtain forgiveness for minor faults of execution, and even for some blemishes in the conduct of the story. Here, too, Mr. Black has given us, especially in the memorable yacht-voyage, not a few of those wonderfully glowing pictures of inland and water scenery which attest his genuine love of nature and his remarkable power of conveying to the mind, nay almost to the eye and ear, of others the impression stamped upon his own. Take the following as an example :

"All in the west—by the far shores of Knapdale and up the great stretch of Lochfyne—lay a dense gray fog, in which hills and islands lay like gloomy clouds; but out there at the eastern horizon there was a glow of rose-colored smoke, which as yet had no reflection on the sea. And while they looked on it—half forgetting the object of their quest in the splendor of this sight—the perpetual wonder and mystery of the dawn—the red mist parted, and broke into long parallel lines of cloud, which were touched with sharp, jewel-red lines of fire; and as the keenness of the crimson waxed stronger and stronger, there came over the sea a long and level flush of dull salmon-color, which bathed the waves in its light, leaving their shadows an intense and dark green. The glare and the majesty of this spectacle lasted but for a few minutes. The intensity of the colors subsided; the salmon-colored waves grew gray and green; a cold twilight spread over the sky; and with the stirring of the wind came in the new life of the day—the crowing of some grouse far up in the heather, the chirping of birds in the bushes, the calling of some solitary goat on the hill, and the slow flapping of a pair of herons coming landward from the sea."

In this delightful story Mr. Black, for the first time, passed the shadowy and impalpable line which divides talent even of a high order from actual genius. And in this too, as it seems to us (though the authority of others, including, we believe the author's own, is against us here), he touched a higher mark than he has ever since attained. Yet we would by no means underrate its successors, least of all its immediate successor. Sheila is a worthy companion-picture to Coquette, with a certain resemblance to her, yet far indeed from being a mere representation of the same figure with different surroundings, which is in general the besetting sin of young writers who have made what is called "a hit." She is a genuine sister of

the charming heroine of *A Daughter of Heth*, and only inferior, if inferior at all, in lacking something of the perfect spontaneity, the wild-flower freshness of the elder creation. The King of Borva is in his kind as fine as Sheila and superior, we are inclined to think, in the masterly etching of the lines, to any character in the earlier novel save the Daughter of Heth herself. But Lavender is a comparative failure, and there is an unsteadiness in the lines (of the drawing, not of the character itself, which is quite a different thing,) that might make one suspect the author of having wavered in his own conception and hence faltered in the execution of the portrait. By reason of this, Lavender even mars by his contact with her the admirable presentation of Sheila. In the estrangement between them, as it is actually represented, she appears in too hard and unforgiving a light, suggesting the suspicion that the writer in the course of the story had altered his own intention and founded the separation on a less serious ground than he had originally purposed. But this is merely speculation. For the other personages, Ingram is a failure also, and the American widow whom he marries a more decided failure still. Mr. Black's good genius leaves him when he leaves Borva. The Princess and her father with their dependants are the only real people in the book, but these with the animated and picturesque description of scenery in which it abounds are amply sufficient to secure for *A Princess of Thule* a high place among contemporary novels.

Madcap Violet, we have seen it somewhere stated, is a special favorite of its author, but to us it seems, notwithstanding the rare excellence of the hero's character, still more inferior to *A Princess of Thule* than the latter to *A Daughter of Heth*. The heroine, though fairly entitled to the very moderate praise of being superior in interest and attractiveness to most heroines, is of quite a different order from Coquette and Sheila, while the mad scene at the close is not sufficiently successful to justify the perilous comparison it suggests with Ophelia.

One of the very best things in the story is the perfectly unconscious and most life-like way in which Mrs. Warrener,

with the best intentions, produces all the mischief between Violet and Drummond. It is almost equal to the scene in *The Mill on the Floss* in which Mrs. Tulliver puts it into Wakem's head to buy Dorlcott Mill by her ill-timed entreaties to the contrary.

In this book it is noticeable that the interest which had been wont in Mr. Black's novels to centre principally in the heroine, is transferred in large measure to the hero, who is, on the whole, if we except the King of Borva, the best masculine figure the author has drawn. To carry out the conception of such a character as Drummond was a task of the highest difficulty. It required the subtlest insight, the most delicate handling to avoid failure. And there was no mean; if it had not been a success, it would have been a palpable, most probably a ludicrous failure. The execution is worthy of high praise for the rare skilfulness of the touch, the firm, yet delicate strokes, and the careful shading of the character.

Still more marked is this transfer of interest from the masculine to the feminine side in *Macleod of Dare*. Gertrude White, though not without some excellent touches, especially in the opening scenes and in her correspondence with Macleod during their quasi engagement, is distinctly a failure, which Violet North, notwithstanding her manifest inferiority to her two predecessors, is not. The interest attaching to Macleod himself is rather that of situation than of character. The mediæval man with modern surroundings, the "noble savage" in evening dress, *voilà tout!* Yet the innate, unconventional nobleness of the man, the passionate, undisciplined vehemence of his character, and its uneasy constraint within the trammels of civilization are well brought out. Herein, with the striking pictures of western Scotch scenery and the life-like representation of the kind of character developed by the semi-feudal society still existing in those remote regions, lies the real power of the book. Here, in the midst of the monotonous level of modern life, true poetic elements are still left ready for the fiction-writer's hand, and of these Mr. Black has shown that he knew how to avail himself skilfully.

Yet the closing scene is marred, as it seems to us, by a

striking error in art. Surely Macleod should at the last moment have relented and secured Gertrude's safety before perishing himself. As it is, unless the defence of emotional insanity be admitted, he cannot escape the stain of deliberate and remorseless cruelty to a woman helpless and at his mercy. The "noble savage" plea is of no avail here. That, being the man he is depicted, he should have conceived and even begun the execution of the design might perhaps have been imagined; but that he should have ruthlessly persevered in it to the fatal end is not to be endured. Who can conceive of Ravenswood as guilty of an act like this? On the whole, the last impression is one of disappointment. Our esteem and sympathy which had previously been strongly enlisted for the unfortunate lover, receive a fatal shock, and are thrown violently back on themselves, since the heroine, in spite of the dramatic interest attaching to her situation, is incapable of long sustaining them. She is far too feeble a pivot for the story to turn upon at a critical point; there is not enough of force, positiveness, fibre in her character. Indeed, she reminds us somewhat of Bonnie Lesley in *Kilmenny*, though to our thinking the earlier sketch is the better of the two.

To have given an adequate representation of the sort of character for which Gertrude was evidently intended, would have been an achievement of no common difficulty. It would have required a delicacy of touch scarcely inferior to that displayed in the portraiture of Drummond in *Mudcap Violet*. The contrast between the two measures the distance from success to failure in such undertakings.

But if Mr. Black's ability to portray human beings with fidelity and force is not altogether so conspicuous in this as in some of his previous works, there is abundant proof in such passages as the following that his power of painting nature has suffered no diminution:

"Early in the morning he looked from the windows of his room, and he could have imagined he was not at Dare at all. All the familiar objects of sea and shore had disappeared; this was a new world—a world of fantastic shapes, all moving and unknown—a world of vague masses of gray, though here and there a gleam of lemon-color shining through the fog showed that the

dawn was reflected on a glassy sea. Then he began to make out the things around him. That great range of purple mountains was Ulva—Ulva transfigured and become Alpine! Then those wan gleams of yellow light on the sea?—he went to the other window, and behold! the heavy bands of cloud that lay across the unseen peaks of Ben-an-Sloich had parted, and there was a blaze of clear, metallic, green sky; and the clouds bordering on that gleam of light were touched with a smoky and stormy saffron-hue that flashed and changed amidst the seething and twisting shapes of the fog and the mist. He turned to the sea again—what phantom-ship was this that appeared in mid-air, and apparently moving when there was no wind? He heard the sound of oars; the huge vessel turned out to be only the boat of the Gometra men going out to the lobster-traps. The yellow light on the glassy plain waxes stronger; new objects appear through the shifting fog; until at last a sudden opening shows him a wonderful thing far away—apparently at the very confines of the world—and awful in its solitary splendor. For that is the distant island of Staffa, and it has caught the colors of the dawn; and amidst the cold grays of the sea it shines a pale, transparent rose."

* * * * *

"Could anything have been more beautiful, he said to himself, than this magnificent scene that lay all around her when they reached a far point on the western shore?—in face of them the wildly rushing seas, coming thundering on to the rocks, and springing so high into the air that the snow-white foam showed black against the glare of the sky; the nearer islands gleaming with a touch of brown on their sunward side; the Dutchman's Cap, with its long brim and conical centre, and Lunga, also like a cap, but with a shorter brim and a high peak in front, becoming a trifle blue; then Coll and Tiree lying like a pale stripe on the horizon; while far away in the north the mountains of Rum and Skye were faint and spectral in the haze of the sunlight. Then the wild coast around them; with its splendid masses of granite; and its spare grass a brown-green in the warm sun; and its bays of silver sand; and its sea-birds whiter than the white clouds that came sailing over the blue."

We deem it unnecessary to enter farther into the merits and defects of particular works. Indeed, the examination of such a book as *The Monarch of Mincing Lane*, for example, could throw light upon little except the depth to which a writer of really high powers can upon occasion descend. Mr. Black is now in the zenith of an intellect quickened by extensive observation, and matured by a wide experience and a varied, if somewhat irregular, culture. He has been not only a

hard-working and successful journalist, but a student in his own way of many different branches, and a traveller in widely distant lands. With all this, though still a young man, he has written a number of novels, several of which stand deservedly high in the ranks of contemporary fiction. Having the prospect of many years of literary activity before him, his ultimate standing will probably in large measure depend upon the use which he may make of this period.

He has told us himself that he is not very amenable to criticism, being determined, it seems, "to do his own work in his own way, and to leave opinion about it to the various voices that first contradict themselves, and then fade into thin air." And in the main he is right. Yet, if we might, without incurring the charge of presumption, be allowed a suggestion to a writer who has so fully won the suffrages of the public, it would be that he should recall betimes the well-worn maxim *Festina lente*, that he should call in and concentrate his forces, and be solicitous rather to make his works the very best that his really rare powers enable him to produce than rapidly to increase their number. The "Author of Waverly" will of course be cited as an instance of the unquestionable merit of very rapid work, but the giants of literature are no safe guides in this respect for men even of undoubtedly high and original gifts, and it is sad to think of some of the results of too rapid and continuous labor even in Scott's own case.

Mr. Black, then, will do well to take heed of this, and, as he may fairly lay claims to some portion of the vatic inspiration, apply to himself the so frequently neglected warning, that

"A bard may chant too often and too long."

WILLIAM BAIRD.

X.—REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS.

Problems of Life and Mind. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES.
THIRD SERIES. *Continued.* 12° pp. 500. Boston: Houghton,
Osgood and Company. 1880.

THE five volumes of *Problems of Life and Mind*, of which this is the last, comprise a complete system of psychology, elaborated on the basis of the modern doctrine of evolution, and with full recognition of all the more important physiological and psychological discoveries of the present age.

The old school metaphysician will here miss many assumptions with which he has been all his lifetime familiar, and will perhaps be shocked at the havoc which is made with many ancient notions which have been current coin in psychology. To the physician, the physiologist, to the thoughtful student, who, imbued with the modern spirit, desires to approach the subject of mind from the physical side and ascertain what are the material laws and conditions of mental phenomena, these volumes will be eminently suggestive and helpful.

He who expects to find here a systematic exposition of mental philosophy will be disappointed; such a person will do better to turn to the bulky volumes of Bain, on the *Senses and Intellect*, and *Emotions and Will*, which, for synthetic completeness, lucidity and accuracy leave little to be desired. Moreover, he who would see mind treated analytically from the stand-point of evolution will have to study the *Principles of Psychology*, by Herbert Spencer. These volumes of Mr. Lewes take up a series of problems in psychology for the purpose of discovering the principles of certitude, the physical basis of mind, the object, scope and method of psychology, and similar profound questions on which thinkers of all ages have expended their noblest powers. A healthy constructive effort runs through the whole series; the author does not so much labor to pull down as to build on a sure foundation. If much in these writings seems to bear a materialistic stamp, it is well to remember that the author distinctly repudiates a materialistic belief, regarding mind, as well as matter, a symbol of wonderful but not unknowable reality, "interpretable in terms of feeling, which is essentially knowable, being indeed the source and content of

all knowledge."—(*The Foundation of a Creed*, Vol. II, p. 405.) Mr. Lewes has been wrongly styled an agnostic. He confesses himself to be a monist, though disclaiming all ability to explain how a physical process can be at the same time a psychical process. Yet, while it is impossible, he says, "to imagine matter thinking, or ascribe thought to cerebral tissue as a property, we may penetrate beneath the terms which relate to aspects and recognize in the underlying reality not two existences but one."—(*The Physical Basis of Mind*, p. 412).

Mr. Lewes' monistic belief is well expressed in the closing chapter of *The Foundation of a Creed*, Vol. II, which also sums up his whole philosophy: "There is no real break in the continuity of existence; all its modes are but differentiations. We cannot suppose the physical organism and its function to be other than integrant parts of the cosmos from which it is formally differentiated; nor can we suppose the psychical organism and its functions to be other than integrant parts of the physical organism from which it is *ideally* [mark the word] separated.

"Out of the infinite modes of existence a group is segregated and a planet assumes individual form; out of the infinite modes of this planetary existence smaller groups are segregated in crystals, organisms, societies, nations. Each group is a special system having forces peculiar to it, although in unbroken continuity with the forces of all other systems. Out of the forces of the animal organism a special group is segregated in the nervous mechanism, which has its own laws. If ideally we contrast any two of these groups—a planet with an organism, or an organism with a nervous mechanism—their great unlikeness seems to forbid identification. They are indeed different, but only because they have been differentiated. Yet they are identical under a more general aspect. In like manner if we contrast the world of sensation and appetites with the world of conscience and its moral ideals, the unlikeness is striking. Yet we have every ground for believing that conscience is evolved from sensation, and that moral ideals are evolved from appetites; and thus we connect the highest mental phenomena with vital sensibility, sensibility with molecular changes in the organism, and this with changes in the cosmos."

Problem II treats of "Mind as a Function of the Organism," and comprises eleven chapters, the running idea of which is that there is a fundamental similarity and identity throughout the entire fabric of mind, from the simplest feelings to the most complex and intricate mental operations. All psychical phenomena are phenomena of the sentient organism, and feeling, thought, perception, etc., are modes of sentience. There is a regular gradation from the lowest to the highest organism, and this gradation is exemplified, and blended, in inextricable complexity in every organism. This gradation is represented by the terms sentience, consentience, and consciousness. Some have only sentience, some have sentience and consentience, and the high organisms

have consciousness superadded. In other words, sentience has various modes and degrees, such as perception, ideation, emotion and volition, which may be conscious, subconscious, or unconscious. All reflex actions are as truly psychical as is consciousness or volition: there is no introduction of a new agent within the organism, converting what was physical impression into mental reaction. Every excitation sends a thrill through the organism (compared in the modern language to neural tremors, pulsations, shocks), this affects the circulation, develops heat, modifies nutrition, arouses emotion and consciousness, or may be too faint and fugitive to awaken consciousness.

Mr. Lewes argues with great force that the law of similarity of property with similarity of structure forbids the supposition that central nerve tissue in one part of the system can suddenly assume a totally different property in another.—(*The Physical Basis of Mind*, p. 443). The spinal centres have sensibility of the same order as the cerebral centres, and this sensibility enters as a factor into the general consciousness.

We see no objection to this view if we may be allowed to use the terms sentience and sensibility without the usual connotation of *conscious feeling*. To speak of a living, though decapitated, frog as *sentient* because he manifests reaction under irritation, is, to say the least, an unusual use of the term.

The "Universality of Life and Mind" is treated in an interesting chapter. The author fights shy of panpsychism, which might seem to be a logical deduction from his theory of sentience. If, says Nagelli the botanist in an address published in *Nature*, we credit the lower animals as well as the higher with sensation, we have no reason to deny it to plants and inorganic bodies. The law of continuity seems to require it. It is well known that Hæckel, in his address before the German Association, advocated this view, hypothecating "plastidule souls." The late W. K. Clifford, in a volume of essays published since his death, advocates the same notion: "Reasoning from the essential continuity in nature which the doctrine of evolution supposes, and recognizing the impossibility of deriving the psychical element from the physical, Clifford reaches the conclusion," says Prof. John Fiske, "that every motion of matter is simultaneous with some ejective fact or event which might be a part of a consciousness. This simple ejective fact or event may be regarded as a molecule, so to speak, of mind stuff, and we reach the startling conclusion that the universe consists entirely of mind stuff." Mr. Lewes is disposed to reject the "law of continuity" as applied to this seemingly *desperate* ascription of psychical qualities to inorganic things, although elsewhere he more than once calls in the aid of this law to help him out of a strait, as, for instance, where he argues respecting the grades of sentience. "What is this law of continuity," he asks, "but an ideal construction, which finds no justification in fact? an abstract idea of existence irrespective of

all concrete modes?" Why not, with more reason, speak of a law of discontinuity, seeing the apparent breaks so common in nature?

Chapter V treats of the sensorium. Nowhere is the audacious character of the work more apparent. The common view ascribes feeling, thought, volition to the cerebrum, as the organ of mind. Especially in regard to the function of thinking, the cerebral hemispheres seem indispensable. Here, according to the common opinion (based as it seems to us, on an overwhelming array of facts), simple sensations are elaborated into perceptions, and consciousness and the whole ideal and voluntary life are carried on. As a common argument for this view, we have the fact that removal of the cerebral hemispheres in animals is attended with abolition of all intelligence and volition. All movements in such mutilated animals are—in the popular physiological language—"excito motor," or "sensori motor."

Mr. Lewes admits the force of the argument, and by no means asserts that the cerebrum is not a most important organ of mind; he denies, however, that it is the sole organ of feeling, willing, judging, consciousness. It is, in his view, the profound disturbance resulting from ablation of the hemispheres which prostrates and paralyzes the whole mechanism, and so destroys coöperation, coördination, and all the other conditions of the higher mentality.

We cannot follow Mr. Lewes, through several chapters, into the reasoning by which he supports this paradoxical position. Suffice it, that with him we grant to the organism the possession of that sort of sensibility which leads it to react under stimuli. The decapitated frog seems to manifest a kind of sentience when it withdraws itself from an irritant. Yet there is no reason to believe that this so-called sentience is accompanied by any conscious suffering. The facts are all to the contrary. Granting, then, to the decapitated animal spinal sentience or sensibility with motor reaction—the result of coördinated neuro-muscular groupings, intended to protect the animal from danger and destruction (and we cannot grant any higher mental manifestations); granting, moreover, to the pigeon from which the cerebral hemispheres have been removed, sensation as well, because the centres of sight, hearing, taste and smell are still intact,—we yet find ourselves justified in denying to them memory, judgment, desire, perception, volition—all these being conspicuously and permanently absent when the mutilation has been performed. Pathological facts have clearly indicated the almost exclusive share which the encephalic nervous centres have in the phenomena of mind. Severe injuries to the upper part of the spinal cord (sparing, however, the origin of the respiratory nerves) have often put the unfortunate patient in a similar condition to that of the decapitated frog; the whole of the body below the seat of injury is separated from the innervation of the cerebral segment. You have complete paralysis of sen-

sation and motion. The tickled foot is withdrawn, but the tickling is not felt. Yet the individual lives on for a while, with consciousness, sensation, memory, emotion, volition unimpaired, or but little impaired. Such cases it has been our lot to witness, and they clearly teach that the higher attributes of mind inhere in the cerebrum. That considerable injury, or even destruction of the convolutions may take place without serious impairment of the mental faculties, if true (which we very much doubt), may be explained by the fact that the cerebrum is a double organ, and that each hemisphere, presumably like its fellow in function, yet maintains a quasi indivisibility and independence; able on an emergency to do the whole work which ordinarily it shares with the other hemisphere. A man may have good vision with one eye, the other being destroyed; and a one-eyed man may see sufficiently to transact some kinds of business though a nebula of small dimension impair the corneal transparency of his eye. This analogy helps us to an understanding of the cerebral phenomena.

While, then, differing from Mr. Lewes in his views of the sensorium, which we locate in the cerebrum, we nevertheless agree with him that the brain "is simply one element in a complex mechanism, each element of which is a component of the sentient Ego. We may consider the several elements as forming a plexus of sensibilities, the solidarity of which is such that while each may separately be stimulated in a particular way, no one of them can be active without involving the activity of all the others."

In closing our desultory and incomplete review of a work which—spite of much repetition, and a want of elaboration and finish in the concluding volumes, necessitated by the depressed state of the author's health at the time (these books not having had the final revision he intended to give them)—is always fresh, always clear, thoughtful and instructive, we must express our dissent from the recent oracular decision of the "Boston Monday Lectureship," the purport of which was that posterity would know George Henry Lewes only as the husband of George Eliot. We would reverse the magisterial judgment and prophesy that two or three generations hence *Middlemarch*, *Adam Bede*, *Daniel Deronda*, etc., will be forgotten, while the *Life of Goethe*, and *Problems of Life and Mind* will be more highly esteemed than they are today.

The Refutation of Darwinism ; and the Converse Theory of Development, based exclusively upon Darwin's Facts.

By T. WARREN O'NEILL. 12° pp. 454. Philadelphia : J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

SINCE the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1860, very many of the best thinkers in all parts of the world have been persuaded of the fundamental truth of the theory set forth in that

work. Philosophical naturalists, with but few exceptions, have adopted the development doctrine of Darwin, as defined by him, or with various modifications, as expressing the widest generalization of the method of nature,—giving unity, harmony and completeness to nature's processes.

The ancient notion of the origin of species by special creation has been steadily giving place to that of creation by law, and naturalists, becoming better acquainted with the fundamental unity which pervades all living things, have looked and are looking to natural causes for an explanation of the manifold and marvellous diversity which everywhere exists. An ever-growing realization of the all-comprehensive scope of natural law has produced this result, and Mill and Lyell were the logical precursors of Darwin and Spencer. Mill, by positing the order and uniformity of nature as the basis of his system of logic, and by formulating with clearness and precision the canons of scientific induction, has undoubtedly given an immense impetus to healthy scientific thought and speculation; and Lyell, by referring all past geologic phenomena to the slow action of the same forces which are still at work over the earth's surface and beneath its crust, paved the way for Darwin and Spencer to explain the evolution of higher from lower forms of life, by agencies which are still visibly in action. That the present is the child of the past, that all things now existing sprang from antecedent causes and conditions, properly called natural, and adequate to their production, seems a truism to believers in evolution.

The substance of Darwin's theory is briefly this: The environment of all animals and plants is continually changing; they must adapt themselves to these changes or perish. Those organisms that are best fitted to their conditions of life survive and multiply at the expense of the others; this is "survival of the fittest," otherwise called natural selection. This process is known to be going on at the present time, and it is legitimate to believe that it has been going on in all past time. Important modifications of structure are thus often effected in the course of a few generations; these are propagated by heredity; artificial selection can produce even greater structural modifications, as every gardener and stock-breeder knows. But this law of variation through adaptation to changing condition and survival of the fittest, operating through countless ages of past time, must have produced great unlikenesses, and the presumption is that the multitudinous differentiations of existing plants and animals known as genera, species, etc., so originated. In other words, this is assumed as the best explanation which science can at present offer of a problem which miracle has hitherto been invoked to solve. That all living beings descended from one or a few primordial forms, is also a tenet of Darwin.

It is needless to say that the main thesis of Darwinism is still nothing but an hypothesis, having indeed a high degree of proba-

bility, and supported by deductive evidence that is very strong. Thus the single line of argument by which Huxley connected the living one-toed genus *Equus* with a typically five-toed ancestor common to it and other ungulate animals, showing how by progressive modifications the development has taken place, and demonstrating the successive links in the chain, carries conviction to many minds that in at least one branch of the animal kingdom a definite pedigree in accordance with Darwinian principles has been established; and the inference is almost irresistible that such has been the general course of nature in respect to animals and plants. Men who have no strong prejudices or prepossessions—who are attentive students of nature, who are observant of the modifications now going on in living organisms in accordance with changed conditions, and who have mastered the anatomical peculiarities which constitute varieties, the more conspicuous shades of difference which constitute species, etc., and who have realized the impossibility of telling, in multitudes of instances, where varieties end and species begin—there being really no hard and fast line between them—who, moreover, feel their inability to form any conception of how species could have come into existence except as gradual or more or less abrupt modifications of preëxisting varieties—to whom, moreover, the notion of continued miracle supplementing the ordinary operations of nature is repugnant and shocking—such persons find Darwin's theory both reasonable and helpful. Yet they accept it *provisionally*, waiting for more light, and anxious for the truth and nothing but the truth.

It has fallen to the lot of a Philadelphia lawyer knowing nothing of science to show that the great body of philosophic naturalists are all wrong, and that Darwinism is a fraud and a failure. His book of four hundred and fifty pages is before us. Those who are not weary with the literature of Darwinism *pro and con* would do well to purchase this book, which is a fine example of special pleading, such as a skilful barrister can make, and as a readable presentation of the stale arguments of the past twenty years (with very little that is new or striking), it may be deemed worthy of a place on the book shelves of amateur scientists and evolutionists. Mr. O'Neill does not deny that there is a perpetual struggle for existence and a survival of the fittest: his experience when a youngster at home, hoeing weeds from corn on his father's farm, to say nothing of his own later competitive struggles as a barrister, has convinced him of the truth of that proposition. He does not dispute that modifications are now going on, and that there is a perpetual process of adaptation, and that artificial selection can produce varieties with differences as great as those which distinguish many acknowledged species. He, however, insists on what he calls the Law of Reversion, which is a theory of degeneration, and is deemed sufficient to cover every variation under domestication, or under nature; *i. e.*, the sole variation possible is

the "regain" (*sic*) of characters lost, and "when all of the characters which any species has lost have been recovered the limit of possible variation for that species is reached."

Mr. O'Neill's theory of degeneration will not commend itself to naturalists as probable or possible, and hardly needs a formal refutation in these pages.

We are by no means disposed to undervalue the objections which have been made to Darwin's theory; these have, however, been fairly met, and by no one better than by Darwin himself, the intelligent reading of whose works we deem the best answer to such books as this of Mr. Warren O'Neill.

Evolution and Progress: An Exposition and Defence. By REV. WM. J. GILL, A. M. 12° pp. 295. New York: The Author's Publishing Company. 1875.

It is refreshing to read anything pertaining to the polemics of evolution that is not twaddle. In this little book there is a great deal of worth. The author is well versed in the literature of his subject, and he boldly plunges into the arena of combat with a keen blade, which cuts and slashes right and left. We do not hesitate to say that we have never seen the leading fallacies of the opponents of evolution more cleverly and logically dealt with.

Our principal fault with the book is that the writer does not sufficiently specify his own belief. In the *Preface* he claims to stand among the *orthodox*, but throughout the work he advocates principles of the most pronounced radical stripe. We have nowhere seen such bold statements of naturalism as in chap. III, pp. 89 *et seq.*, in the last section of which he affirms the eternity and self-sufficingness of the universe. He seems throughout the work to identify God with natural forces and natural laws, and yet in the closing paragraph of his book he affirms his belief in a Personal God and immortality. He should not have left us with this simple declaration which is so contrary to the entire drift of his book, but should have appended another chapter, showing how this belief is reconcilable with all that has gone before.

Those who want to see the best defence of evolution (spite of its radicalism) that has yet emanated from the pen of a clergyman, should buy this book.

Old School and New School Therapeutics. An Essay read before the Cambridge Society for Medical Knowledge, Dec. 22, 1879. By FRED. F. MOORE, M. D. Boston. 1880.

THE questions at issue between the schools of medicine, more particularly between the new school and the old school, possess more than a professional interest. On their solution largely de-

pende the public weal—life and health for the million. It is incumbent on every individual, or at least every intelligent individual, therefore, to examine these questions for himself, in the light of such information as is accessible to him, guided by such reason as he may possess or is able to make himself master of.

Ignorance is the bulwark of error. So long as the multitude take no part in the discussion and settlement of questions of public interest, or, in other words, so long as the discussion of questions that concern human welfare is confined to a class having a pecuniary or class interest in the solution of them, so long will the *status quo* of all such questions be maintained, and the multitude be debarred from realizing the advantage which they would obtain had they a voice in their solution. This observation is especially true of the problems involved in the theory and practice of medicine—problems the unsettled condition of which has kept and still keeps the science and art of medicine cursed with a variety of medical sects and schools. The law of self-preservation, be it observed, is as potent in respect of classes and institutions as it is in respect of the species and individuals. All instinctively wall themselves in against the disintegrating influence of time and circumstance. So likewise, the law governing the movement of matter is equally operative in the movement of ideas—to this extent, at least, that the impetus for changes, other than those in the line of their natural bent or polity, must come from without. In general, one does not find any sect or institution leading in a movement to revise its own errors, or to correct its own abuses. Nor does a different rule obtain with individuals. One does not find, for example, clergymen heading a movement to reduce their own salaries; nor doctors insisting on smaller fees for medical services; nor lawyers advising their clients to make amicable settlements of their disputes; nor druggists recommending homœopathic physicians. As well might one expect to see millionaires regretting the rise of interest-rates, merchants grieving over the present extravagance in dress, or tailors advocating the propriety of wearing old clothes, as to expect any of the professions to underrate the value of its services, or lead in a movement the success of which would lessen its emoluments and impair its power and prestige in society. It is contrary to the natural course of things; and if instances of its violation are observed now and then—if one is discovered who is inspired by a different motive—the effect is to shock our logical intuitions. The ruthless violator of the natural order of things, if a physician, is looked upon with suspicion by the wiseacres of the profession, dubbed irregular, or rated among that small, discontented class of people with pain in their bellies (the real seat of sympathy, as Thoreau well says), whom Coleridge has described as being “wrong in head or heart somewhere or other,” and Hawthorne has denounced as “men not benevolent or beneficent to individuals,

but almost hostile to them; yet lavishing money and labor and time on the race, the abstract notion"—namely the philanthropists.

We fear this will be the fate—a fate which most people, certainly most students of medicine, stand in greater dread of than the itch or small-pox—of the brave author of the little *brochure* before us. Being disenchanted of the glories of martyrdom ourselves, we envy not the ignominy which awaits him. Should he escape the opprobrium of a philanthropist, he will certainly fall under the ban of being a lover of truth. If he be desirous of "success" in the profession, he could not have taken a more fatal step. The author presents the rare spectacle of a Harvard medical graduate, presumably young in years, impeaching the teachings—the precepts and principles—of his Alma Mater. Perceiving the futility of presenting the results of his medical observations to his medical brethren, he boldly steps out of the professional arena and addresses the laymen—the people. For this unprofessional act, we doubt not the Medical Society of Massachusetts will deal with the presumptuous author in due time, and in its own peculiar way: it is for us to deal with his essay.

In our view, the author argues his cause against old school therapeutics with the skill of a practised dialectician, bringing to his support the experience and confessions of old school physicians and authors of well-known ability and authority. Beginning with the notable "confessions," he cites from Dr. John Harley's *Gulstonian Lectures* (London, 1868) the following declaration:

"The study of therapeutics is in a deplorable condition. Expectancy and Homœopathy, the twin progeny of ignorance and deception, have grown from a comparatively innocent childhood to most mischievous proportions. But few of us believe in the beneficial action of medicine. Many treat the subject with contempt. Some of our grey-haired practitioners mislead us. We constantly hear them saying, 'The longer I have worked, and the larger my experience, the less do I rely upon drugs; and I find that I am losing confidence, year by year, in the action of medicines.'"

Declarations of similar import in respect of the impotency of old school therapeutics are cited from many standard medical authors, notably from Dr. H. C. Wood, Bichat, Prof. Stillé and Sir Henry Thompson. To the same end, for the same purpose, the author gives the recommendations of some of the best authorities of old school practice as regards the treatment of certain obstinate diseases. Those of Dr. Brown-Séquard are sufficiently apropos and significant to be given a place here:

"Small doses are useless; we ought, therefore, particularly in epilepsy, in tetanus, in neuralgia, in reflex paralysis, in angina pectoris, in whooping-cough, to give as large doses as can safely be borne. In affections like tetanus, in which there is an antagonism between the complaint and the remedy [and when is there not, in old school therapeutics, we would ask]

at the same time that we must be giving, every hour or half hour, a fresh dose of the remedy, we must be carefully watching for the disappearance of the symptoms of the nervous affection, and their replacement by the symptoms of poisoning by the drug. In a case of which I know the details, Dr. F. G. succeeded in obtaining the cessation of tetanic symptoms; but, unfortunately, new doses of opium were given after that cessation, and the patient died of poisoning by opium."

In other words, after the *tetanic* symptoms had subsided, under the massive doses of opium, the *satanic* (morphism) set in. But even if the poor patient—let us rather say, victim—had not succumbed to the treatment, one wonders if his last condition would not have been worse than the first.

The author discusses the claims of "Rational Medicine," of "Empirical Medicine," and of "Homœopathy," to be regarded as scientific. The conclusion to which he comes, in respect of the methods of the former two, may be briefly stated in his own words :

"The old school has not yet learned how to bring order out of chaos, how to render available the great mass of material it has so blindly gathered together. Possessed of many valuable truths, it has not yet seized upon the method by which they can be intelligently applied to the treatment of disease. The practice of the old school physician is still a mere educated guess-work; he goes to his *Materia Medica* as he would go to a lottery, with the desire to make the best selection possible, but with little idea of what that best is, or of the proper mode of selecting it."

The attentive reader of Dr. Moore's essay will find it difficult to escape the conclusion at which he arrives. The author does indeed show by abundant evidence, drawn from trustworthy sources, and from logic which one's reason approves, that old school medicine has "thus far been barren of results" at the bedside, "and must necessarily continue to be so in the future." The reason of the failure of old school therapeutics he rightly finds to be its fallacious method of studying the *materia medica*, which keeps its practitioners, however able, industrious and learned, in ignorance of the specific virtues of drugs. He therefore commends the method of Hahnemann to his colleagues, pointing out to them the well-known fact that many physicians of the past, illustrious in the annals of medical literature, formulated the same therapeutic doctrine laid down by Hahnemann, and recommended the same method of studying the action of remedies, viz : on the healthy. We especially commend this part of the author's essay to the unprejudiced attention of our old school *confrères*. And we would also express the hope that they may soon be brought to a sense of duty, if not of justice, to accept in good faith the author's closing advice: "Let us, then, extend to our homœopathic brethren the right hand of fellowship, that the reproach of bigotry and intolerance may be removed from us, that the truth may be advanced, and the day hastened when medicine will know no schools, but be represented by one body, working with renewed

strength and vigor, and with the one aim of advancing medical science and the best interests of humanity."

Materia Medica and Therapeutics. By CHARLES J. HEMPEL, M. D., 2 vols. 8°. Third edition. Revised by the Author. Greatly enlarged by the addition of many new and valuable remedies, personal observations and numerous clinical contributions from public and private sources. By H. R. ARNDT, M. D. Chicago : W. A. Chatterton. New York : A. L. Chatterton Publishing Co. 1880.

Homœopathic *Materia Medica*s are multiplying in such profusion now-a-days that one wonders that a publisher can be found willing to take the risk of a new work, or a new edition of an old work, on this much overdone subject. In the publication before us, the first volume of which has just appeared, the enterprising publisher has, evidently, exercised the business sagacity peculiar to his class, and shifted the pecuniary responsibility to other shoulders. Be that as it may, he has not failed in presenting the volume in a manner that does credit to the typographical art. This volume presents a cleanly page, open it where one may, showing a degree of diligence with the proof-sheets on the part of the editor which cannot be too highly commended.

Of the work itself we must speak in terms of less admiration. We do not see its *raison d'être* at all as a distinct treatise on homœopathic *materia medica*, except, perhaps, as a monument to its indefatigable author. Let no one infer from this remark, which is made in sincerity, and without malice prepense, that Dr. Hempel's *Materia Medica* is devoid of merit. It has merit, indeed, of no mean quality, but unhappily, it is not such as to give the work a distinctively homœopathic character, or to render it indispensable to the homœopathic physician, or in fact to any class of physicians or school of practice, the aid it gives in practice being supplied the profession, for the most part, by eclectic and old school *materia medica*s. It must be said, however, to the author's credit, that he has been consistent with his purpose in the arrangement of the work, as he professes to give merely a rude outline of the voluminous subject, from a physiological and pathological point of view, leaving the symptomatological details to be supplied by other hands.

We commend the author's plan of giving the natural history of the remedies of which he treats ; also the method of their preparation. His rejection of isopathic remedies is likewise to be commended. They have long been mostly discarded by the old

school therapeutics; their resurrection by the new school has been a shame and a reproach from the first.

Passing over the distinguishing features of the work, which are too well known to require special mention, we have to animadvert on the introductory chapter—or lecture, for the volumes consist of a series of lectures—in terms by no means complimentary. That lecture ought never to have been written, or if written, it ought never to have been published, or if published, it should never have found place in a work on *materia medica*. In this chapter the author goes out of his course to express views in respect of final causes which we doubt not are original, but which are puerile to the last degree. His moral cosmogony has certainly no admixture of science to redeem it from childishness. Let us cite a few lines:

"The moral transgression [the fall of man] tainted the physical creation, and the forces of disease were the inevitable result. But God could not permit these morbid forces to pervade creation like wild and lawless furies seeking whom they might destroy. He subjected them to the laws of order, by compelling them to fix themselves in definite, concrete forms. Thus it is that medicinal agents embody or materialize, so to say, morbid forces, themselves resulting from man's original transgression, and perpetuating themselves, with the hereditary consequences of this transgression in man, from age to age and generation to generation, etc. * * * Who can foretell whether it will ever be given unto us to know the essences that perpetuate woe and pain among us? * * * Diseases are adventitious principles of forces, superinduced or eliminated in the surrounding spheres by man's deviations from the laws of divine harmony," etc.

Such a philosophy of health and disease—of life and the divine order—leaving out of the category the fanciful conception of the genesis of drugs, is extremely repugnant to the scientific sense. The fallacies embodied in these brief extracts are of too flagrant a character to be permitted to pass unchallenged in a modern medical work. In the first place, if there is any truth in modern science, man never met with that terrible accident known as the "Fall," to which the author refers, and of which no one speaks today except to smile. In the next place, the Divine purpose has never been thwarted or set aside, for we know nothing of that purpose except as it is revealed in the course of things—the laws of nature. In the next place, the laws of nature cannot be transgressed. It is quite common to hear the ignorant or thoughtless speak of one's violating the laws of health, or acting contrary to the laws of one's being or violating God's law. It is a grave abuse of language to use it thus, nevertheless, and involves a misconception of the idea of "law." One may not choose the best conditions of life and sanity; but one can no more violate a law of one's existence than one can lift one's self into one's carriage by the straps of one's boots, or into one's saddle by the seat of one's breeches.

"To bid people conform," says John Stuart Mill, "to the laws of nature when they have no power but what the laws of nature give them—when it is a physical impossibility for them to do the smallest thing otherwise than through some law of nature, is an absurdity. The thing they need to be told is, what particular law of nature they should make use of in a particular case."—*Essays on Religion*, p. 16.

Finally, disease is not an entity, essence or principle. Such a doctrine of etiology is allied to that of "possession," which has long been set at rest by the advance of physiological knowledge. The science of physiology shows that health is normal functional activity, due to normal or sanitary conditions and environments; and that disease is abnormal functional activity, due to abnormal or unsanitary environments or conditions. One condition is as natural as the other. Nor is there necessarily any impenetrable secret as to the essential causes of morbid phenomena—disease. On the contrary, it may be laid down as a truism, that all acute diseases have for their exciting cause the absorption, or generation within the organism, of peccant or extraneous substances or elements. It is true one does not always know the precise nature of such morbid or extraneous substances. Nor does one know, for that matter, the precise nature of one's food—that vast variety of things that affect the economy normally or physiologically. Nor is such knowledge possessed of much practical importance. In respect of the essential nature of morbid causes, enough is already certainly known to show the fallacy of the doctrine maintained by many medical theorists of the day, among whom is the author of this work, that there exist remedies whose province it is to wipe out all the disorders to which flesh is heir. That fallacy is the will-o'-the-wisp of medical philosophy. We should rejoice to see it abandoned and a more rational conception of the nature of disease and the province of therapeutics substituted in its place. When a specific is found to supplement the lack of pure air in the economy, or that of proper food, ventilated abodes, or personal cleanliness, then will it be time to return to the mediæval doctrines of life and sanity and to seek relief from moral and physical disorders exclusively in prayer and the exhibition of medicine.

Suum cuique—It must be conceded that the work has been greatly improved in this last (third) edition. The remedies are arranged alphabetically, instead of in lectures, as of old. "The old remedies have been thoroughly revised by both authors; many of them—aconite, arsenicum, etc.—have been materially condensed; others—apis, lachesis, etc.—have been wholly rewritten." The work has also been enlarged by a considerable addition of new remedies—remedies which have been proved and received into the *materia medica* since the publication of the first edition. To these merits must be added a "double index, general and clinical" to each volume, which must greatly facilitate the use of the works. The second volume is promised for October, 1886.

The Philosophy of Music. By WILLIAM POLE. 12° pp. 316.
Boston : Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1879.

THE love of music, in some form and quality of expression, is wellnigh coextensive with human existence. So undoubted is this, that the person, of whatever race or tastes or condition, is regarded at least curiously, who finds no pleasure in melodious utterances. The familiar aphorism of Shakespeare, concerning the one who has "no music in his soul," has passed into a current maxim of our language, by virtue of the incisive truth that gleams through it, like the flash of a cimeter. Those most unskilled in practice, totally powerless to produce anything like a musical sound, unable, as they assure us, even to "tell one note from another," will often listen with delight to the rudest performances, whether of voice or of instrument. And their souls are affected with genuine if not over-refined thrills of emotion. Music, of whatsoever grade or quality, will command an audience, where oratory, from the lowest to the highest degree, will only go begging for hearers. Some even declare that the elements of such a taste are inseparable from the human nature. Music, they urge, is the universal language of the emotions, their truest and best interpreter; therefore, as no one can be wholly destitute of emotion, a sympathetic chord must of necessity lie somewhere hidden in every soul, which only waits for the proper touch, to give a sure response.

A natural liking so undeniably strong and prevalent, might rationally imply a corresponding familiarity with the underlying principles of music. The exact opposite, however, is the truth. The popular ignorance touching many of the simplest rudiments of musical science, is something marvellous. And unfortunately it is not confined to even that vast majority of mankind which is content with simply listening, more or less delightedly, to the performances of others, having never sought to acquire any skill of its own. Hundreds of excellent musicians are today equally in the dark. Persons of decided and often commanding ability, singers and players of reputation, competent band and choir leaders, successful organizers and directors of orchestral and of choral unions, conductors of concerts, music teachers of life-long experience, are sharers of the same unenviable distinction. Their tastes may be pure, their judgment of proper combinations, renderings and effects, sound and reliable, their knowledge of the technicalities of the mechanical details appertaining to correct musical performance, second to none. They may have the whole vocabulary of scales and chromatics and slurs and syncopations and runs and arpeggios and trills and staccatos and symphonies, at their tongues' end. Yet a very simple question, as to the general phenomena of sound, the characteristic properties of musical sounds, the nature and the relative magnitudes of musical

intervals, the origin and the principle of the diatonic scale, the natural imperfections of the scale, the laws of harmony, the theory of instrumental music, and fifty other points, equally germane to the subject, will precipitate a crisis like that mentioned in the eighth chapter of *Revelation*, when "there was *silence* in heaven about the space of half an hour." Not one in a hundred could answer a word. And it is equally a fact, that in the ordinary course of musical instruction, where even the customary hour of drill is professedly given to the exclusive benefit of a single person, it is wholly exceptional that the attention of a pupil is directed to anything of the kind.

These things have no moral right to be true. It is out of all reason, that so powerful an agent for the promotion of wholesome enjoyment upon the earth, whose highest refinements of pleasure are also connected in every devout mind with the fruitions of the heavenly state, should be chiefly known to men as a mechanical process alone. The science of music, the principles which govern its composition, the philosophy to which all its just arrangements and effects are accountable, should be as familiar to every person of average musical taste, as the prismatic colors in the composition of light, or the laws of reflection, of refraction and of gravitation, are to the scholars of average capacity; and so long as the present ratio of difference shall continue, or anything approaching it, the musical profession, as a whole, can, strictly speaking, lay no just claim to rank as a "learned" department.

The author of the elegant volume before us has fully considered this grave subject. Deeply regretting the prevalent ignorance of fundamental principles in music, and rightly ascribing it to the indifference of most "musical performers, both amateur and professional," he has undertaken the serious task of correcting the tone of public sentiment, in this particular. The plan of his work originated, as so many great reforms do, in a single circumstance. Himself a doctor of music, and one of the examiners in that department at the University of London, he had been invited to deliver, before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, a series of lectures upon the Theory of Music. The decided approval which attended this effort encouraged him to embody the substance of the lectures in a form adapted to general circulation. His treatment on the subject is practical, sufficiently popularized to interest the reader of average intelligence. His style is dignified, yet easy and lucid, singularly free from the dryness and the scientific difficulties so common to treatises of this character, with as few professional technicalities as the proper handling of such a theme would permit. The subject is conveniently presented in three general divisions: first, the material of music; second, its elementary arrangement; third, its proper structure. The first division treats of musical sounds, their production, their transmission, their perception; also their pitch, their strength and their character, with a very full and interesting

chapter upon the scientific principles of the different musical instruments. In the second are explained the "steps" or degrees in music, the intervals, the scale, time or rhythm and kindred matters, with the addition of a valuable sketch of the ancient modes, their origin and their relation to those in modern use. The third division is assigned to melody, harmony and counterpoint, as the three great elements essential to the proper structure of all musical composition. Those but slightly initiated will readily perceive, from this brief glimpse of the author's plan, how natural and logical is the order in which he has pursued it. Neither the practical musician nor the thoughtful, though unmusical reader, can fail of great interest and profit, who shall give to this notable work a thorough perusal.

The Telephone, the Microphone and Phonograph. By COUNT DU MONCEL, Member of the French Institute. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1879.

IN a marvellously short space of time the telephone has developed into an apparatus of great practical importance. From an almost childish toy—a simple amusement of two persons at the end of a string—it has become, by successive improvements and modifications, one of the wonders of the world, rivalling even the telegraph, hitherto justly considered the greatest scientific achievement of the age.

The book of Du Moncel gives us a very complete history of the telephone from its first conception by Robert Hooke in 1667 to the year 1874, and its present perfect condition to which the labors of Gray, Bell, Edison and the practical scientists have contributed.

All the various forms of telephones are described, and clearly shown by fine illustrations, together with explanations of their principles of construction, etc. In short, this seems to us to be a most complete and lucid treatise, possessing great historical and scientific merit.

A chapter is devoted to telephone stations, and to call-bells, or alarms.

With the same care and completeness the microphone is treated;—that marvellous little instrument which almost magnifies the stepping of a fly to the tramp of a steed; also the phonograph, which records and reproduces not only the speech of a person but the voice, articulation and inflections. Finally, in an appendix, we have an account of Faber's speaking machine, and other interesting matter about telephonic acoustics.

The book is published in the Harpers' best style, and will be found exceedingly valuable not only to the man of science, but to every intelligent reader.

Health and Health Resorts. By JOHN WILSON, M. D. 12° pp. 288. Philadelphia : Porter & Coates. 1880.

THIS volume by Dr. Wilson is full of valuable hints to invalids seeking a change of climate. The author's late position as medical inspector of the camps and hospitals of the U. S. army, his evident acquaintance with the Continent, and experience at the various health resorts, eminently fit him for his task.

His object in writing this book, the author remarks in his introduction, is to offer such practical suggestions regarding the subject of health and health resorts as shall aid the curable invalid to reach a just appreciation of the natural resources of which he may avail himself, and deter the fatally sick from aggravating his sufferings, thereby shortening his life, by injudicious and unavailing experiments. In the first chapter, he gives us some idea of the nature of health and disease, the influence of surroundings and associations, in health or sickness, their effect on physical and emotional states, the advisability of change in certain cases of illness, and of the suitability of the different kinds of change made necessary by the exigency of the case.

Concerning the sanitary resorts of the United States, Dr. Wilson considers no other country more highly favored, in variety of climate, mineral springs, and sea-shore. "In no foreign land can there be found such an assemblage of intelligent appliances for the alleviation of suffering, nor in any other is there such ample provision made for the comfort of the travelling invalids. Our hotels, rail-road cars, steam-boats, and other accommodations for the travelling public, are unequalled anywhere ; and, therefore, as far as these elements contribute to the comfort of the invalid, the odds are largely in favor of the United States. Then, again, it may be fairly questioned whether our mineral springs and sanitary resorts do not possess elements as well adapted to the treatment of the various forms of disease as any of the most famous baths or springs of Europe. Certain it is, that our sea-shore resorts, in all that can contribute to the comfort of both sick and well will compare favorably with the most celebrated of these places abroad."

—p. 25. He alludes, also, to the variety of climate within our territorial limits, probably embracing that of every country in Europe ; also to the material comforts to be enjoyed at much less expense in the modest farm-houses throughout the country than at the expensive sanitariums of Europe. Dr. Wilson considers, moreover, in many cases the means of recreation at such places too artificial and exciting, tending to draw the invalid's attention from his malady for a time, only to aggravate it in the end.

For those invalids, however, who are convinced that the sanitary resources of a foreign country are superior to our own, and who do not suffer from advanced organic disease of any of the principal vital centres, which have already produced extreme mental and physical debility, Dr. Wilson offers valuable sug-

gestions as to place, time, and regimen. The use of stimulants is discussed in a sensible manner. He writes: "The climatic and other physical influences affecting all races and conditions of men, play so important a part in creating a desire and determining the necessity for adventitious stimulants, that the subject of daily beverages for invalids travelling for health, becomes one of the first importance. That, under some circumstances, moderately stimulating drinks may be daily indulged in, not only without detriment to the constitution, but with positively fortifying effect, which under others would induce habits of drunkenness and a rapid decline of vital force, is a fact of which I have the strongest conviction." He then proceeds to say that he is well aware that exception will be taken to the use of stimulants at any time, and of the counter-arguments of cold water advocates, and continues: "These opinions whether founded on fact or not, have at least the merit of inculcating the doctrine of sobriety, and, were it possible to persuade the world to act on them, would doubtless save it from much demoralization and suffering; but unfortunately the teachers of both morality and science have to deal with the world as they find it, and hence the true province of the moralist and scientist is, not to evade the investigation of phenomena that appear to militate against their theories, but to attempt rationally to explain them and, if possible, to make this explanation contribute to the general good."—p. 49 *et seq.*

The author devotes one chapter to the therapeutic influence of mineral waters. While it is an undisputed fact that they are often beneficial, their improper use produces most disastrous results. He gives some good advice as to the methods of using these waters.

Pulmonary consumption, also, receives careful and elaborate attention, especially as to the effect and advisability of travel, and the desirability of different resorts in different cases of that disease, and in different seasons, with a description of the health stations, their climate, facilities of access, etc.

The mineral springs of Germany, Switzerland, and France, receive due attention, making altogether a very readable volume of timely importance to all health seekers.

Camps in the Caribees; The Adventures of a Naturalist in the Lesser Antilles. By FREDERICK A. OBER. 12° pp. 366. Boston: Lee and Shepard. New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. 1880.

MR. FRED. A. OBER has abandoned the beaten track confined within the boundaries of civilization and led us directly into the forest for a glimpse of its primitive simplicity, and for the actual possession of birds comparatively unknown which inhabit the

Lesser Antilles. His exploration of those of the West India islands with which we are the least familiar, was undertaken for the Smithsonian Institute, and his collection of birds not only included every species heretofore contributed but many new ones, with a most interesting account of their haunts, habits and plumage.

The book he has so modestly presented is written in a sketchy style and shows the author familiarly fond of that of which he writes. His days, spent in the gloom and grandeur of the mountains, were enlivened by raccoons and snakes, and the companionship of tarantulas, land snails, lizards and boa-constrictors, while his nights in the wilderness were no less startling. His descriptions of the soft, mysterious song of the *Soufrière* bird, whose ventriloquial notes baffled the naturalist; the sudden darkness following daylight, signalled by the mournful sunset bird; the vivid pictures of cloud-capped mountains, viewed from the cave or camp in the crater of St. Vincent as he rested in his hammock among the cocoa palms and tree-ferns, are the delicate pencillings of an artist. One can almost see the slumbering lake, asleep in the "bowels of the crater," which he so forcibly yet daintily describes, and the opalescent hue with tinge of faintest aqua-marine against gray cliffs, dark gorges and green moss.

One of the amusing chapters is that devoted to a monkey hunt, among the banana swamps, the monkey's highway, and of an attack, while in ambush, of golden-throated humming birds.

Mr. Ober has entertained us greatly with his freshness and originality, and, as his wanderings have furnished a valuable addition to the department of ornithology, so has the record thereof proved an acceptable after-thought.

A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia).

Its Symptoms, Nature, Sequences, Treatment. By GEORGE M. BEARD, A. M., M. D. 8° pp. 198. New York: William Wood & Company. 1880.

DR. BEARD, who has a growing reputation as a popular scientific writer and investigator, has attempted in this work to fill a place which medical literature for the most part has left untouched. It is a brief and intelligent monograph, in fact, on the numerous but obscure "family of nervous disorders," of a functional character, which have almost arisen within the past century, and which in the last half of it have become increasingly frequent, especially in the United States. Though the sufferers from them here are to be found everywhere, and are not simply brain-workers, but are muscle-workers quite as often, the thickest field for them is in the northern and eastern States. The country which stands next in the number of them is England, while

France is third; and "they appear to be least numerous in Germany and Russia, Italy and Spain."

These disorders are quite often inherited, and cling with tenacity to certain families. They occur "under similar conditions and in similar temperaments." They are essentially the product of our nineteenth century civilization; and, as the most active and restless development of this is to be found in our country and climate, the high neurasthenic tendency here is what would be expected.

It is hardly necessary to say that Dr. Beard, whose industry and faithfulness in observation are well known, has done his work well. He has put his descriptions and comment in so readable a style, that even the popular reader will find it interesting; while to the physician, who wishes to see a vague tract of pathology more accurately defined, it must be considered indispensable.

The Farmer's Friend and Guide. For 1880. Pp. 500. New York: Frank Harrison & Co.

THIS publication, which is issued in paper covers, is the initial copy of an annual serial devoted to every variety of agriculture, but made up entirely of selections from the agricultural press. Stock-breeding, the apiary, poultry-raising, the garden, and the various departments are all allotted separate space, under a general title, but the contents of the whole are to be considered only as a careful compilation. It has the merit it claims; but we hardly think the strict classification referred to quite atones for the lack of an index, which ought not to have added essentially to its expense.

Dwelling Houses; Their Sanitary Construction and Arrangements. By W. H. CORFIELD. 12° pp. 156. D. Van Nostrand & Co.

THIS is No. 50 of "Van Nostrand's Science Series," a class of publications which would be regarded as heavy by the general reader, but which the general reader, nevertheless, would do well carefully to consult. Corfield's book tells all about the best modes of constructing dwelling-houses, to ensure the health and comfort of their occupants; and gives valuable hints concerning the ventilation, lighting and warming of houses, as also about sewerage and drainage.

The Constitutional and Political History of the United States.

By DR. H. VON HOLST. Translated from the German by JOHN J. LALOR and ALFRED B. MASON. 1750-1833. State Sovereignty and Slavery. 8° pp. 505. Chicago: Callaghan and Company. 1877.

THE first chapter of this work is a rapid sketch of the events from 1750 to the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, and justly ridicules the idea that the union of States under the Constitution was a "divine inspiration" or the result of a sentimental patriotism. It states very truly that the Union was not merely the child of pressing commercial necessity as Mr. Webster averred, but that "it was a struggle for existence, a struggle for the existence of the United States;" and moreover, although "the Constitution had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people," even this necessity did not disentitle the event to be regarded in the language of Washington as "little short of a miracle." It would have enhanced the value of the work to the younger readers, had there been some space devoted at the outset to an examination of the compromises which lie at the base of the Constitution, for it is too often stated as a reproach to our fathers that they made a fatal compromise on the subject of slavery, when in reality they did nothing of the kind, because the States were independent and sovereign, and the Constitution could not give them what they already possessed. The truth is that the slave States conceded the abolition of the slave trade after 1808, the navigation laws to the New England and Middle States, and in other respects surrendered attributes of their own sovereignty for the sake of the Union, as indeed did all the States: that in truth the adoption of the Constitution was a practical instance of the fact that all government, indeed, every relation in human life, is founded on compromise and barter, on the principle of give and take which pervades even the material universe.

The second chapter, while it accuses the anti-federalists of hostility to the Constitution, fails to notice the fact that in the establishment of the United States Bank the Constitution was violated by the Federalists themselves, almost as soon as it was put in operation; accuses the American people of an idolatrous worship of the Constitution to which it was not entitled, speaking of the instrument as a "national fetish;" and goes on to say that "the origin of the Constitution and the first years in which it did so much for the good of the people by producing a radical change in the unhappy situation of affairs after the war, were contemporaneous with the adoption or invention of political or party principles. The political reasoning of the school which gave tone to the time started out with the assumption that the individual was a monad floating through the universe and governed by independent

laws inherent in himself, not a member of a given society into which he was born. The consequence was, that certain principles resulting from this mode of reasoning were substituted for actual facts, as a foundation for the social and economic condition which it was sought to bring about. As the basis of these principles was discovered in human nature, they were necessarily declared to be unchangeable and applicable to all times and to every people. Their tendency therefore was, on the one hand, to destroy the existing state of things; for any title not in harmony with these principles was a fraud and usurpation and was denounced as a weak and damnable species of commerce with the injustice of a thousand years. But on the other hand, to adopt this philosophy would be to declare stagnation the natural condition of all social and political order. If the principles were to be unchangeable, incapable of refinement and progress, there would be no possibility of development, for principles are only the quintessence of the aggregate intellectual and moral knowledge of a people or of the age, reduced to the simplest formula."

We submit that the whole of the foregoing extract is extravagantly false and theoretically wrong. It is not true that the statesmen who framed the Constitution considered the individual as a "monad floating through the universe," etc.; and it is theoretically false to say that the principles underlying the science of government are not unchangeable, for principles are eternal. It is the violation of the unchangeable principles of human nature which lie at the base of human society that has caused the failure of human government everywhere. It was the violations of the Constitution of 1789 that caused the civil war in this country; and it is conclusive testimony to the merit and efficacy of the Constitution that it was thoroughly equal to the great emergency.

In the third chapter the author reveals his own political instincts and exhibits himself as hostile to republicanism and in favor of centralism, and an imperialist at heart. He speaks of the establishment of the United States Bank, ridicules the anti-federalists, chief among whom was Madison (Jefferson was in France at this time), for their opposition to the measure because they thought it unconstitutional, and finally gives away the whole case by saying: "The Constitution did not expressly authorize the establishment of a bank; and the anti-federalists now endeavored to prove that it was not necessary to the exercise of the powers expressly given." The author fails to note that if the anti-federalists did not succeed in proving that the bank was not "necessary," subsequent events did, and it is preposterous to set up the assumption that it is "necessary" to the administration of a government that it should go into what Adam Smith calls "the trade of banking." The alliance of a government with a single bank or any number of banks is simply a scheme on the part of politicians to obtain the assistance of the money power in controlling the people, and is eminently hostile to liberty. The author

speaks of "the intellectual and moral drunkenness" of the anti-federalists, classifies Jefferson as a demagogue (p. 108), stigmatizes the political philosophy of the anti-federalists as "blind doctrinarianism" (p. 109), and says, "although the Americans are certainly republican in more than the name, they have always been, as much as the French, and more than any other European people, subject to the *vertigo of republicanism*" (p. 130). Toward the close of the chapter the author animadverts upon the disposition of the American statesmen of that day for seeking to cultivate and cement friendly relations with France, and characterizes the prevalent feeling of the time as Francomania (p. 124).

The fourth chapter is devoted to a discussion of State and federal sovereignty, which is carried on with skill: the Virginia resolutions of 1798 and the Kentucky resolutions of 1799 that were intended to guard the rights of the States are examined in a spirit of violent animosity toward Jefferson, whose mode of thought is described as "a mixture of about equal parts of dialectical acuteness and of the fanaticism of superficiality" (p. 160); and we are told that "not the slightest weight should be attached *a priori* to his interpretation of the Constitution." The author speaks disparagingly of Madison for the same reason, apparently, as of Jefferson, namely, that they were both democrats in the philosophic sense of the word, and therefore both guilty of an offence which the ingrained hatred of republican government in the mind of the author prevents him from tolerating.

Toward the close of this chapter, the mind of the reader is relieved by the following gleam of judicial sense: "The forcible resistance of the States to the general government might be as justifiable as the forcible resistance of the Colonies to England; but in law, it would be, in this case as in that, a revolution and not a mode of procedure warranted by the Constitution."

Chapter V is more strictly historical, less colored by the political philosophy of the author, not wholly free from prejudice against Jefferson, but very interesting, especially that portion relating to the purchase of Louisiana, a territory which under that name "stretched from the mouth of the Mississippi over Iowa, Minnesota, Dakota and Kansas, and reached westward to the Rocky Mountains." It is noticeable that while Hamilton, the political enemy of Jefferson, favored the purchase, "Jefferson himself unconditionally granted that the Constitution did not warrant the acquisition of foreign territory, still less its incorporation into the Union. And even the objections of some of his friends could not change his view of the constitutional question." The great political and strategical value of this acquisition in removing the control of the mouths of the Mississippi from foreign power, and the immense territorial wealth obtained thereby from France for the sum of \$15,000,000, could not persuade Jefferson by broad construction to justify himself on constitutional grounds. "I confess then," he said, "I think it important in the present case to

set an example against broad construction by appealing for new power to the people" (p. 192). And in a letter to Mr. Breckenridge, which our author does not quote, he said, "I pretend to no right to bind you, I thought it my duty to risk myself for you." This great statesman well knew the necessity of a strict construction of the Constitution in order to guard the rights of the minority, and to protect them from the tyranny of the majority. The necessity of strict construction impresses itself on all philosophical minds, and De Tocqueville observes, "I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country, as at the inadequate securities which one finds there against tyranny." (*Democracy in America*, Vol. I, chap. xv.) Dr. von Holst does not omit to notice the narrow and selfish view of the purchase of Louisiana that was taken by the New England States, and the disunion and sectional feeling evoked by the act.

The sixth chapter is devoted to a long and minute discussion of the Embargo period, ending with the war of 1812 and the unsavory Hartford Convention, treasonable in design but abortive in result. The young reader who has been accustomed or taught to believe that the ideas of secession, nullification and armed resistance to the Federal Government are or were confined to the southern section of the country, or even originated there, will find much profitable reading throughout this chapter. It may be proper to state here that the Embargo, and war of 1812, by diverting capital from maritime pursuits to manufacturing industry, planted the seeds of that opulence which the New England States now possess.

The work has been examined thus far with great care, so that its scope and character can be understood. The author has exhibited immense research, and the historical portion is of great interest and value. But the hostility and rancor exhibited towards the illustrious Jefferson, whose name is rarely mentioned except in contemptuous terms, the spirit of ill-concealed hate of our system of government which pervades the whole work, qualify, if they do not destroy, the favorable regard of the intelligent American reader, and give rise to serious doubt as to whether it is a suitable book for the present time, when a wholesome reaction from party tyranny and "imperialism" seems to be setting in. The very last words of this first volume are a quotation of a didactic sentiment of Bismarck: "Sovereignty can only be a unit and it must remain a unit,—the sovereignty of law." Between German imperialism and American republicanism we prefer the latter with all its imperfections, and we are of opinion that between Bismarck and Jefferson humanity will know which to choose.

The Science of English Verse. By SIDNEY LANIER. Cr.
8° pp. 315. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1880.

It is doubtful if any book on the subject of poetry has appeared at any time with a sincerer or fresher purpose than that

titled above, which one of our most cultured younger poets has recently produced. It is doubtful, too, if it could have been written by any one except an author whose experience in the arts of music and poetry is, in each direction, equally thorough, and at ready command. The intention of it is to point out, with full and elaborate discussion and examples, how absolutely the qualities which constitute verse are made up of sound. "If the least doubt upon this point should be entertained," says the author, "it may be dispelled by observing that all ideas may be abolished out of a poem without disturbing its effect upon the ear as verse." This may be tested by the reader, by matching any well known and excellent piece of poetry by other words "which convey no ideas to the mind," but which exactly "preserve the accentuation, alliteration and rhyme." The conclusion is, that, "if we can now ascertain all the possible relations between sounds we will have discovered all the possible determinants of verse," technically so called, "and will have secured principles for the classification of all verse-effects from which there can be no appeal."

This synopsis gives, of course, but a slight insight into Mr. Lanier' argument, and no clue at all to the variety of facts and illustrations with which he has striven to fortify it. It may be that he carries the doctrine a little too far, in some particulars, but he has said enough on firm ground to give his book the hearty respect which a careful, painstaking and accurate scholarship should command. Some of his analyses of the familiar lines and melodies of our most famous poets will have interest for a wide circle, but the book, from its very nature, will not tempt the ordinary reader. What Mr. Lanier has offered he submits simply as suggestions, not as rigid laws, and he wisely says: "For the artist in verse there is no law: the perception and love of beauty constitute the whole outfit." He merely wishes to enlarge that perception and exalt that love.

The Younger Edda: Also called Snorre's Edda, or the Prose Edda, etc., etc. By RASMUS B. ANDERSON. 12° pp. 302. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1880.

THAT beautiful world into which the Scandinavian mythology takes us, can never cease to hold the mind, which delights in primitive thoughts and poetry, with powerful fascination. If it does not come to us robed in the pure forms which clothe the Greek art and culture, it is surpassed by nothing known to the mind of man in strength and sweep of poetic conception. It is within a comparatively recent period that the ordinary reader has had much access to the Edda literature; but he has for some years now seen it tinge a body of English poetry whose eminence has sprung

almost as much from its fresh and peculiar—though ancient—topics, as from their striking treatment. Now that this enchanting glimpse has been given into fields so old, and yet so new, it is a pleasure to find one of the chief original works itself produced by a scholar whose tender love for the task, and faithful acquirements, make it probable that we have before us the best and most satisfactory English translation.

The date of the Younger Edda is put as far back as 1250 certainly; and perhaps it may claim, in part, to have been written a century earlier. "The mythological material of it," says Prof. Anderson, "is as old as the Teutonic race." To continue his words: "It contains the systematized theogony and cosmogony of our forefathers, while the Elder Edda presents the Odinic faith in a series of lays or rhapsodies." In many particulars, as the author shows—the elder book being poetry while the latter one is prose; the former enigmatic, while the latter is explanatory—they fill out the parallel which can be drawn between the Jewish Scriptures and the New Testament.

When we remember that it is in the Norse language and literature that we find the earliest record of our customs, laws and institutions—"that Iceland is for the Teutons what Greece and Rome are for the south of Europe"—there is a motive additional to the impulse given by a rare structure of poetry to make us recur to a work which comes freighted with such tender and sacred traditions.

This volume is not only printed in type which is pleasant to tired eyes, and in comely, substantial form, but it is supplied also with an introduction, notes, vocabulary and index.

Principles and Portraits. By C. A. BARTOL. 12° pp. 460.
Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

DR. BARTOL must be a preacher who could not ever be dull, if his spoken efforts are at all reflected by his printed page. The present volume, like the previous ones on *Radical Problems* and *The Rising Faith*, is something more than merely interesting; for it deals with great themes, and treats them in a bright, lofty and incisive way. The author is first of all a poet, and sees everything through a deep spiritual sense. He is the prisoner of no dogma; he will go to the root of things, though the heavens fall; but instead of falling, they seem to be propped up and buttressed stronger than ever, after he has laid vigorous blows upon the temporary, the transient, or the merely phenomenal.

Science, art, love, business, education, politics, and persons—these are among the topics which are discussed in this new volume, which shows the mark of "sweetness and light" in every page and paragraph. It is not the author's aim so much to settle

and conclude questions, as to irradiate light upon them, in all frankness and charity; and so leave the reader to pick up the threads of his own argument, and follow them out as he will. There are writers who will criticise his style, as failing in distinctness and coherence; and, in fact, he seems—not by imitation, but by nature and individual affinity—to remind you of a somewhat more diffuse and exuberant Emerson. His method is, at least, of the transcendental kind, and he talks, of course, to a chosen class. What he says of Shakespeare, Channing, Bushnell, Weiss, Garrison, and Hunt the artist, takes him over a most delightful field, and illustrates well the spirit in which he habitually dwells.

In this era of vapid sea-side and Summer reading, he is to be envied who puts so true a volume as this into his carpet-bag or satchel. The background of mountains, or the foreground of sea, will form a not altogether unsuitable frame to it.

Great Authors of all Ages. With Indexes. By S. AUSTIN ALLIBONE. 8° pp. 555. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

A GLANCE at the superb mechanical execution of this book would dispose even an obdurate critic to speak well of its contents. A glance at its contents would effectually forbid him to speak otherwise, though the exterior showed only naked pasteboard. It is one of those rare works that in the nature of the case defy all unfavorable judgment. Its value is three-fold. First, it presents a carefully selected list of those authors, from Pericles to George Eliot, whom the world has united in pronouncing great; the names being arranged, so far as the facts are attainable, in the order of birth. Second, immediately following each name is a condensed record of the leading events that marked the life of the individual. Third, a choice selection or two is appended, from the most celebrated production of each author, thus affording a fair sample of his usual style of composition.

These selections also, are generally prefaced by a very discriminating estimate of the general literary character of the author. As a simple guide in the proper selection of books for a library, this work is worth many times its price. With any just attention to the hints it proffers, a wrong choice is wellnigh impossible. Then, the person who should simply read with care the several extracts alluded to, would acquire a more just and comprehensive knowledge of general literature than one in a thousand possesses, while the various data respecting the lives of the authors furnish a most convenient body of references. Mr. Allibone deserves to live in history for this work alone, irrespective of the other splendid productions which bear his name.

Miscellanies. By JOHN DEAN CATON, LL.D. 8° pp. 366.
Boston : Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

IT is unusual for a person, who devotes himself to the legal profession with sufficient assiduity to gain an eminent position therein, to find the time or to feel the inclination for a great deal of general literary work. The engrossing duties commonly arising in connection with that pursuit, are so fatal to the requisite leisure, that only extraordinary energy and patience can overcome the hindrance. Also the tendency to drop irrecoverably into the ruts of professional thought, as well as form and phrase and technicality, is so strong that a literary taste has hardly a better chance of surviving the trial than a flowering plant in a gravel-pit. Rufus Choate used to say that his law studies "*dried his mind*" to such an extent that he felt obliged to do a great deal of special literary reading, in order to keep his taste fresh and unimpaired. Judge Caton, an ex-Chief of the Illinois Supreme Bench, has evidently acted with like wisdom. In his interesting volume he has shown us how a mind, capable of formulating principles and decisions in State jurisprudence, can also indite a grave scientific treatise, a racy bit of local history, a relishable chapter of aboriginal lore, a string of gossip letters from lands visited, and other things in even greater variety. There is a letter upon the interests of the democratic party, which ought to rejoice every heart in that "unterrified" body. The articles upon the American deer family and the wild turkey, are worthy of a professional naturalist. The legal habit of the author is apparent in the conciseness of his style, and in the absence of anything said for mere effect. The book is enjoyable and instructive throughout, and it is a pity that more men of talent and position do not improve the *otium cum dignitate* of their retirement from business life, to the like pleasure and profit of their fellow men.

The Iliad of Homer. Books I, II, III. By ARTHUR
SIDGWICK and ROBERT P. KEEP. 16° pp. 203. Boston :
John Allyn. 1879.

THE day is past for the need of any critical estimate of the works of Homer. Their place in the world's opinion is like that of the Alps or of the Rocky Mountains in nature, whether it concerns their prominence or their apparent permanency. Yet so long as editorial agency shall be needful to their requisite preparation for ordinary use, there is likely to be a decided preference in regard to the different forms and methods. The present edition starts with the great advantage of a text printed in very clear and beautiful type. This in turn, is conveniently broken into

paragraphs, according to the succession of ideas, to each of which is prefixed a brief heading, concisely stating the substance of what follows. This in no way relieves the effort of careful study in the work of translation; but it is very useful in presenting an outline of the poem, which tends to interest the student, as he begins a paragraph, and essentially to aid him in finding any passage desired for reference. Another feature is a careful sketch of the Homeric dialect, giving a tabulated statement of the various forms, as they occur in connection with the different parts of speech. This will save much time, usually spent in rummaging grammars and lexicons in quest of the desired information. A compact body of notes at the end of the book has the excellence of mainly *suggesting* the proper way out of a difficulty, rather than to foster the indolence of the student by directly informing him. The book is a credit to both the editors and the publisher.

Realities of Irish Life. By W. STEUART TRENCH. 16° pp. 297. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

THIS is a narrative of facts that happened in the experience or under the personal observation of the writer. It dates from about the year 1821, and therefore covers a somewhat eventful period. The main portion of the book is devoted to occurrences in relation to the Land Rent system in Ireland, for which the author's life-long position, as a general agent of estates, peculiarly qualified him. He was a well-educated native Irishman of the better class, a near relative of the eminent Archbishop Trench, and, from the spirit of the story, evidently a just and warm-hearted man, who strove to improve the condition of the tenantry, whilst mildly exacting all just dues. The book will richly repay perusal.

American College Fraternities. By W. RAIMOND BAIRD. 12° pp. 212. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

WHETHER the American College Fraternity system, as now existing, is the more a curse or a blessing, is subject to a great diversity of opinions. Yet the author of this volume has done a positive service in so compactly and clearly presenting all the attainable information respecting the general, the local, the class, the ladies' and the defunct fraternities. It is a valuable work of reference.

Ruskin's Letters to Workingmen and Laborers : Fors Clavigera.
Complete in two parts. Part I and II. New York : I. K.
Funk & Co.

PERHAPS none of Mr. Ruskin's various writings so thoroughly justifies the expectation of piquancy and surprise, of oddity and charm, as do his *Fors Clavigera* papers, which have been widely quoted from, and are familiar without being easy to procure. Their grotesque wit and sense, their bits of real wisdom and poetic significance, combined with whimsies that have grown upon the author in later years, make them not only an object of curiosity, but also a desirable possession. Of course, not one in a thousand of those to whom Mr. Ruskin's present letters are addressed will understand the meaning of their fantastic title, even after he has so diffusely explained it ; some of their suggestions will seem either frivolous or ridiculous to the average mind, and yet there is so much salt and savor in the feast set forth as to make them of quite peculiar value.

For this reason we must heartily welcome their reproduction. Their cheapness is unquestioned ; but, as no amount of this quality will be likely to make them much called for by their professed constituency, one could almost wish they were not quite so cheap, and were somewhat more shapely and *bindable*. A quarter of the size in length and breadth, with four times the thickness, would have made it possible for each purchaser to put them in hard covers and presentable book form, without, we should suppose, adding materially to their expense. We do not dispute their serviceableness in the present shape ; but, when so little more would do so much, we regret that an edition of the sort we have indicated did not seem, to the publishers also, desirable. Perhaps it will on further reflection.

The Poetical Works of Jean Ingelow. 18° pp. 272. Boston :
Roberts Brothers. 1880.

A NEW edition of Jean Ingelow's poetic works in rather cheap attire ; compact, convenient, and perhaps popular in size, but unworthy the fact, the fancy and passion existing within its envelope. Lovers of Jean Ingelow's poems will, however, overlook the outside dress, and turn again to the sweet songs with utterance wise, grave prophecies, and glad voices, fresh as the breath of May, and, like her own "world of meadows" blossoming with dainty and familiar flowerets. These poems are too familiar to need detailed mention, since every household has felt their influence ; but there is a new pleasure to be derived from a perusal of *The Dreams that Came True*, *The Story of Doom*, and *Glady's Island*. In the latter, the girl represents fancy ; the woman,

imagination; poetry and history are embodied in the purple mountain peaks. The poems are pictures fair to see, which we may both touch and love. They are womanly and worthy. From the opening lines of the volume which sketch

"An empty sky, a world of heather,
Purple of fox-glove, yellow of broom,
We too, among them, wading together,
Shaking out honey, treading perfume,"

to the closing stanzas of *The Two Margarets*, which, like a vesper hymn, leaves the very atmosphere pure and peaceful, we find a peerless snowy fancy. The sweet singer may be likened to the flower of her own chosing:

"A white river-lily: a lily awake and aware,
For she set her face upward,"

upward,

"To the enrichment of mankind,
And the laying up of light
In men's houses."

Among the Thorns. A Novel. By MARY LOWE DICKINSON.
12° pp. 430. New York: G. W. Carleton & Company.
1880.

MRS. MARY LOWE DICKINSON's novel, *Among the Thorns*, is a very strong narrative of the fortunes of a family who do a great deal of good and a great deal of harm, in ways common to the divinity and frailty of human nature. Part of the scene is laid in the North, among people of strong anti-slavery sentiments; part upon a southern plantation, where we have a glimpse behind the same veil lifted in that noteworthy book, *The Fools' Errand*; part on English soil, and part under Italian skies. It is always picturesque, the movement even too crowded, the author being apparently embarrassed by the bounty of her materials.

We do not remember to have read in a long time, if ever, anything so strong as the tragic story of the slave Marah, whose mind, unhinged by the death of her own little baby, conceives the idea that the little daughter of Robert Thorn, whom she is hired to nurse, is really her own baby, and lavishes upon it the most passionate, self-sacrificing love. Though showing a lack of literary training, the book gives evidence of unusual dramatic power, is instinct with the most earnest human sympathy, and practically inculcates the noblest and firmest principles, in the admirable representation of their working in the conduct of life through the development of her story.

Hal: The Story of a Clodhopper. By W. M. F. ROUND.
12° pp. 263. Boston: Lee and Shepard. New York: Charles
T. Dillingham. 1880.

MR. ROUND offers us a small volume entitled *Hal*, which comes bound in the fashionable dress of cardinal silk, and is quite as bright within as without. The story is simple, humorous, and consistent, though one is not a little surprised to find a young lad, born and "brought up" after the Topsy standard, rising from the atmosphere of Silas Poadvine (which, interpreted, means infidelity—miserly and miserable; depravity, wholly and entire), to become that worthy and worshipful personage—a poet, lecturer and a diver into, around and about all things. This boy is a Sabbath School hero, while the grandfather Silas is the embodiment of wrinkles and defiance. The snobbish aristocrat of the book—the Honorable John Jenkinson, is a graphic picture of other Honorable Johns of the monetary system who sit upon the pinnacle of Creation, and languidly pronounce it good. "Good!" since they, the Honorable Johns and the Jenkinsons generally, are planted in the centre. "He looked upon the government of the country as an institution especially devised for furnishing soft places for the Jenkinson family. He had a vague idea that if the Jenkinsons were to die out the government might stop short. It was a very vague idea, because no Jenkinson mind could fully comprehend the awful possibility of such an event."

A pretty niece, a little love, a convenient cousin and an orthodox attachment glide smoothly into the matrimonial harbor. The story has, however, its accommodating circumstances, since events are dovetailed in the most satisfactory manner. The lover appears at the precise moment that he is desired, and Hortense, the heroine, is discovered at the most opportune instant with a background of foliage to enhance the effect. In another moment she disappears, melts into thin air, or dissolves at the left centre of a forest of underbrush. These sudden situations are confined entirely to print and cardinal bindings, since in real life one is generally sailing out of town when one's lover is striking his most effective attitude in the garden. Mr. Round has, however, made all these vexatious things smooth and harmonious, and the pages of the book are bright with humorous allusion.

Kings in Exile. By ALPHONSE DAUDET. Translated by
VIRGINIA CHAMPLIN. 12° pp. 362. Boston: Lee and
Shepard. New York: Charles T. Dillingham. 1880.

Kings in Exile relates the overthrow of the House of Illyria, and the subsequent exile of the queen with her husband and

child, in consequence of one of those revolutions which dethrone monarchs and establish republics. Paris, the Bohemia of exiles, shelters the royal pair. Then follows for the volatile young king a round of fashion and frivolity; for the saddened queen, endurance and despair. The novel is not without interest, but, like all French works, should be read in the original to be fully appreciated; for, while the substance is preserved the fine flavor is lost. The sparkling, challenging, piquant expressions of the French cannot be translated, and it is scarcely possible always to render the original idea in appropriate English. Especially is this true of Daudet's French. We make this observation on general principles, without any intention of reflecting on this particular translation, which is very creditably done.

The Secret of the Andes. By F. HASSAUREK. 12° pp. 466.
Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co. 1879.

THE city of Quito, in the year 1592, has contributed subject-matter for a romance by the author of *Four Years among Spanish Americans*. The scene of the story lies within the viceroyalty of Peru, where a crushing tax was imposed by the home government, from which, by express stipulation of the royal grant, Quito was to be exempt. The city had been founded for the purpose of discovering the hidden treasure of Atahualpa, which had been placed in a subterranean cave or vault; and in the fruitless search thousands of Indians were sacrificed. The Indian queen who presides over this treasure, and who wields great influence over her faithful people, is ready to suffer, or die, if need be, for the dignity and glory of her race. The blind devotion of these slaves to their queen, and her fixed purpose to elevate her people, form the framework on which this book is built.

Vivid pictures follow in quick succession under the titles: "State-craft of Murder," "The Hidden Treasure," and the "Curse of Mama Ruca"—showing an intimate personal acquaintance with the spirit and history of the time. The opening chapter, entitled "Dreams," is introduced by a quotation from Calderon de La Bruce, the literal translation of which is an index or classification of the chapters that follow:

"What is life? A frenzy.
What is life? An illusion.
A shadow, a fiction,
And the greatest benefit is small;
That all life is a dream
And that dreams are sleep."

"Realities," "The Revolution," "The Reaction," "The Value of Life," and "The Worthlessness of Life," are the stern titles of chapters which are written in a bold, stately and majestic style,

yet graceful and fascinating in the extreme. The description of the cave to which the young cavalier Don Julio de Carrara is led blindfold, with his friend Bellido, that he may behold the great treasure at his command if he will use it for the liberation of the starving subjects of the Shyri Queen, is a startling and tragic one. A golden throne is presented with a background of horrifying skeletons. The peculiar interest awakened at the opening of the book is maintained to the end. Shyri Toa, the beautiful queen of the Indian tribes at war with the Spanish dominions, places her confidence and favor in the keeping of Don Julio, who has earned her regard. He swears to defend the cause of her oppressed people; but the dark eyes of another woman sway him from his allegiance. Though he returns her great love and though she would bestow upon him her queenly hand, thereby uniting the opposing factions, he is persuaded to betray her. War follows.

The climax of the book is an artistic effect,—the queen leading her savage army against the Spanish forces which are under the command of the faithless Don Julio. Regret, remorse and death are foreshadowed. The Spanish commander is captured with his men, and is to be slowly put to death. The revenge of the queen is now complete, but the love of the woman is still supreme. Ere her Indians can tear their prisoner to pieces with their knives, she calls aloud his name in farewell, and mercifully points her arrow at his heart, sending it with unerring aim as he lifts his arms in gratitude to receive it.

To the lovers of romance this book will be welcome. It is semi-legendary, semi-historical, full of fine situations and effects.

Confidence. By HENRY JAMES, JR. 12° pp. 347. Boston : Houghton, Osgood and Company. 1880.

Confidence will disappoint many admirers of Mr. James' writings, notwithstanding the evident *savoir faire* displayed by the author, which serves to convince one that he has not done his best. The tale proceeds simply and naturally, a little too much so for a book intended merely for recreation, as the interest, which is never very absorbing, fails to carry the reader to the end. Mr. James' delineation of character is excellent and his descriptions of scenes and places are unusually good. The volume before us shows no lack of the author's ability to say excellent things on the right occasions, but some of the conversation is exceedingly commonplace. The plot is not particularly ingenious, although Mr. James did well in representing this confidence as existing between two friends of the masculine gender. No woman would be foolish enough to insist upon a lady friend of superior beauty and powers of attraction engaging to study and draw

out, by means of rendering herself as charming as possible, the man—who is possessed of attractions to an unusual degree—whom she hoped to make the partner of her joys and sorrows for life. Such touching confidence—or sublime egotism—must have been wholly exhausted in the composition of man. *Confidence*, however, is possessed of many excellent points, and we are inclined to believe that its shortcomings result chiefly from too much haste in putting the book before the public.

The Second Coming of the Lord ; Its Cause, Signs, and Effects.

By CHAUNCEY GILES. 12° pp. 264. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1879.

MR. GILES in this volume endeavors to show that the Second Advent is near at hand, and that "the principles formulated in the doctrines of the New Church and contained in the writings of Swedenborg give us a rational and practical solution of the Second Coming, which is in entire accordance with the whole of Scripture, correctly understood ; with the purposes of the Lord in the creation of man, so far as they can be known from reason and revelation ; and with the nature of man and of his relations to the Source of his life, and the conditions on which alone he can work out his destiny."

The author disclaims any interest whatever in "any theory of the Second Coming, as such. He only desires to know the truth about it, and to watch, as we are commanded to do, that he may recognize and welcome the Lord in whatever guise and manner He may come. Believing most heartily that He is coming in the power and glory of spiritual truth to institute a New Age, in which all the promises of prophecy and the purposes of infinite love will be carried into effect, he desires to give to others as far as possible the ground of his belief, and the joy of his hope."

Mr. Giles does not believe, however, that Christ will again descend to earth clothed with flesh and blood ; he considers that the prophecies in the New Testament refer no more to the material reappearance of Christ on earth, than that those of the Old Testament concerning His first advent referred to a spiritual king. Those mighty convulsions of nature that were to have preceded the Second Advent, the author places in the spiritual world and not in the material ; neither does he consider the end of the world, spoken of, as meaning the destruction of the material earth, but the end of an age of human thoughts and life, and that this end was completed a century ago. "No distinct step in intellectual or spiritual progress is possible while men form their doctrines and theories from the letter of nature or of Scripture. That age must therefore complete its cycle, as the Jewish age had done,

and pass away. As we have seen, its simplicity and childlike faith could not be preserved when the men of the time began to reason. In such conditions error is inevitable, and error leads to sin, and sin in turn blinds the understanding, dulls the perceptions, and begets more fatal errors. As the leaf and blossom of the plant contain in their own forms and nature the causes of their decay, so do all ages of human progress, whose central principle is implicit obedience, or a knowledge of truth based upon appearances only, or a belief founded upon the testimony of others.

"These, as we have seen, were the fundamental principles of the first Christian age. They were the root from which it sprung; they gave to it its form and character, and they were the elements of its power and weakness. The end of that world, therefore, was inevitable and it has come" (p. 105). Christ will again come to earth when man is ready to receive him, and then "society will be intelligent, pure, and lovely. * * * The great increase in knowledge on all subjects—natural, spiritual and divine; the civil, intellectual, and spiritual freedom into which men have come and are coming, and the general direction of human strength, knowledge, and purpose to human good, are clear signs that the Son of Man is coming, in the power and glory of His truth to reign upon earth, and to subdue all things and all minds unto Himself" (p. 264).

Mr. Giles accepts the Swedenborgian doctrine of the resurrection and of the spiritual world. In its general features the spiritual world resembles this, though it "immeasurably surpasses this in the number, variety, beauty, grandeur, and excellence of the forms which compose it." Mr. Giles reasons ably, and in a style at once simple, clear, and forcible. Although many dissent from his opinions, we do not see how any one who accepts his premises can reject his conclusions.

The Second Coming of the Lord would have been much more readable if presented in the form of a comprehensive essay, whereby the repetition necessary in a series of lectures might have been avoided.

Who Is Your Wife? A complex Conundrum colloquially considered. By WALDORF H. PHILLIPS, LL.B. 160 pp. 126. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1880.

ONE of the most disgraceful features of American legislation is the inextricable complexity and contradictoriness of our divorce laws. If there is a "burning question" in the country, it is surely this. A brilliant young lawyer of New York City has undertaken to show the absurdity—nay, more, the criminality—of the present state of the question, and when we say that he has fully succeeded, we still fall short of bestowing upon his attempt the praise it

deserves. Realizing that satire is far more influential with the average mind than the most powerful reasoning, the author has set forth the case in a book that is mainly satirical, and, at times, burlesque. Yet, beneath all there is an undercurrent of intense indignation, and the light, playful tone in which the story is told but serves as lightning flashes to display more blindly the dark, tragic nature of the whole. The wit is often very keen, and the occasional touches which reveal the social relations between the sexes in America are skilfully bestowed,—as when, in the breach of promise suit, on page 76, the fact that the defendant gave the woman his seat in the horse-car is considered conclusive evidence of his intention to marry her. In fact, the pleas in the various trials in the various States to determine who was the hero's legal wife are so ably argued,—on the basis of the present laws, of course,—that they are, most unfortunately, true to the very life.

The importance of Mr. Phillips' attempt is such that we would gladly give space for a detailed account of it, but must content ourselves with recommending it "to those about marry," to legislators, and to all who have a voice in electing the legislators.

RECEIVED.

The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as Seen in its Literature: With special Reference to certain recon-dite, neglected, or disputed Passages. In Twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., 1876-1879. With a Bibliographical Appendix. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. Large 8° pp. 1082. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

History of the Administration of John De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. By JAMES GEDDES. Vol. I. 1623-1654. 8° pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg. By ANNE AYRES. 8° pp. 524. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell. 8° pp. 579. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

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English Men of Letters: Cowper. By GOLDWIN SMITH. 12° pp. 128. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1880.

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The Fabulous Gods Denounced in the Bible. Translated from Selden's *Syrian Deities*. By W. A. HAUSER. 12° pp. 178. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1880.

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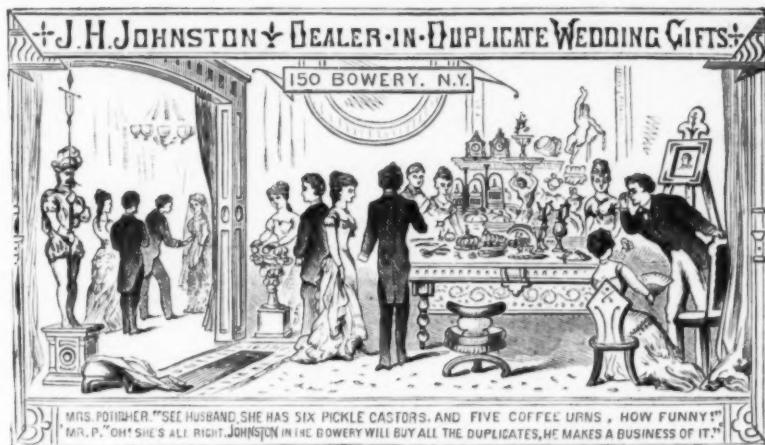
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The Reminiscences of an Idler. By HENRY WIKOFF. 12° pp. 596. New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1880.

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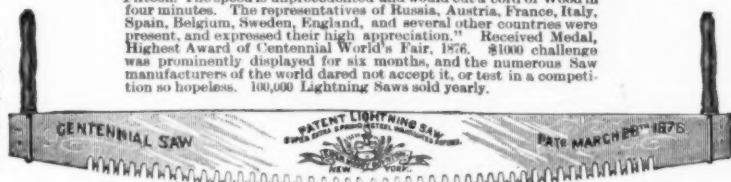
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Review.

380.

THE U. S. AND THE CHINESE QUESTION.

THE Chinese problem is not merely a question of temporary disturbance to a single community. It is one of the migration of races; of the overflow of redundant populations upon comparatively unsettled regions. In its political, social, industrial and commercial bearings upon the future of our country it is of broader import than any other that has ever engaged the attention of the American people. Its proper consideration calls for the laborious examination of many facts, and for a careful investigation of their numerous and complex relations. And it requires that investigations be made, and that deductions be drawn, with the calmness of judicial impartiality. In this, as in every other matter of broad international concern, the narrow pathway of truth is that which leads to safety, and truth is gained only by taking facts without disguise and treating them without prejudice. My own studies have convinced me that Chinese immigration is full of danger to our country, to our institutions, and to our people. My reasons for this will be given in the course of this article, and it will be seen that they are based, not upon unreflecting hostility to any race, but upon proofs that we have opened to a colossal people the opportunity for limitless aggrandizement at our expense, and that we have done this with a recklessness that could only be equalled by one who, dwelling on lands below the level of the sea, should break

down the dy-
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For it is only through
 one may form a clear concep
 tendencies of her people. And
 must constitute the basis of all ac
 future relations with the outside world.
 prising one third of the human race, of a mental, moral and
 physical type indigenous to the soil, unmodified by external
 influences and intensified by isolation and successive repetition
 through tens of centuries, must, in the nature of things,
 possess an inertia peculiarly its own. The future direction of
 this can only be foreseen from a knowledge of its line of
 movement in former times. The slow but progressive de-
 velopment of China has produced a civilization in which the
 low level of moral and physical life incident to debased and
 enslaved races is strangely combined with an intellectual vigor
 that, in all the requirements and vicissitudes of a complex
 social and political system, has proved itself equal to the pro-
 motion of learning and the extension of arts, and to the
 elaboration of methods and traditions of state-craft not inferior
 to those that have controlled the policy of European countries
 and of our own. To understand this, and the logical outcome
 thereof, is manifestly the first step to a proper appreciation of
 the conditions of the conflict, peaceful or otherwise, impending
 between the Turanian and the Aryan races. And such an
 understanding is best gained by the laborious but fruitful
 process of tracing the development of China through its salient
 causes and more noticeable results from the time when off-
 shoots of unlettered tribes crept downward from the Altaic
 mountains to find homes on the marshy borders of the
 Hoang-Ho.

China is, for the most part, a fertile plain or basin, bounded

on the east by the Pacific, on all other sides by elevated and comparatively barren plateaus and ranges of lofty mountains. It is watered by two great rivers, the Yellow or Hoang-Ho, and the Blue or Yang-ste-Kiang, and their tributaries. It was upon the banks of these rivers that the Scythian progenitors of the present population formed their earliest settlements. The date is lost in the mists of legendary and mythical traditions, but it is known that nearly twenty-three centuries before the Christian era the Chinese possessed a written language; and as this was original and not derived from any external source, there must have been many ages before this stage of comparative progress was attained. The Yellow River is dyked along its length to prevent its floods from overwhelming the adjoining lands, and its bed is thirty feet above the level of the surrounding country—this elevation having been caused by the gradual deposition of earthy material from the heavily-laden waters. Assuming, although in the nature of things it can be only an assumption, that this deposit is in the same ratio as that laid upon the valley of Egypt by the inundations of the Nile—four inches in a century—it is easy to infer how long a period may have elapsed since the artificial banks were first raised by a sedentary people to protect their fields from injurious overflow. It is, however, sufficient to accept the usually acknowledged date of the beginning of letters as the period in which the character of the race began to harden into permanent form, and the institutions which illustrate if they have not caused its permanence, began to have the force of organic laws. This was but two hundred years later than the historical inception of Babylonian power as unfolded from the study of the cuneiform inscriptions. At that day the Shepherd Kings had not yet entered Egypt. It was nine hundred years before the appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly; it was more than eleven centuries earlier than the siege of Troy. Since then, Babylon and Assyria and the later Egypt, the great empire of the Medes and Persians, the nations of Macedon and Rome and Byzantium have risen, and ruled, and passed away. Race has followed race and new languages have chased away the old in every land but one,